V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 1

1893 - 1894

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface to Volume One 9

1893

NEW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN PEASANT LIFE (On V. Y. Postnikov''s *Peasant Farming in South Russia*) 11

I 13
II 17
III 32
IV 43
V 69

ON THE SO-CALLED MARKET QUESTION 75

I 79
II 79
III 84
IV 89
V 93
VI 99
VII 107
VIII 122

1894

WHAT THE "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE" ARE AND HOW THEY FIGHT THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. (A Reply to Articles in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* Opposing the Marxists) 129

Part I 131
Publisher's Note 201
Note to the Present Edition 202
Part III 203
Appendix I 301
Appendix II 308
Appendix III 326

THE ECONOMIC CONTENT OF NARODISM AND THE CRITICISM OF IT IN MR. STRUVE'S BOOK. (THE REFLECTION OF MARXISM IN BOURGEOIS LITERATURE.) P. Struve. *Critical Remarks on the Subject of Russia's Economic Development*, St. Petersburg, 1894 333

Chapter I A Line-by-Line Commentary on a Narodnik Profession de foi 340

Chapter II A Criticism of Narodnik Sociology 395
Chapter III The Presentation of Economic Problems by the Narodniks and by Mr. Struve 424
Chapter IV How Mr. Struve Explains Some Features of Russia's Post-Reform Economy 451
I 453
II 480
III 486
IV 489
V 493
VI 500

Notes 509

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 537

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin, 1918 2-3

V. I. Lenin, 1890-1891 10-11

First manuscript page of Lenin's *New Economic Developments in Peasant Life*, 1893 12-13

First manuscript page of Lenin's *On the So-Called Market Question*, 1893 77

Last manuscript page of Lenin's *On the So-Called Market Question*, 1893 127

Cover of Part III, hectographed edition, of Lenin's *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, 1894 208-209

Last page of Part III, hectographed edition, of Lenin's *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, 1894 300-301

Title page of the miscellany containing Lenin's *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*, 1895 335

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 2

1895 – 1897

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1972

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1895

FREDERICK ENGELS 15

EXPLANATION OF THE LAW ON FINES IMPOSED ON FACTORY WORKERS 29

I What Are Fines? 33
II How Were Fines Imposed Formerly and What Gave Rise to the New Legislation on Fines? 35
III On What Grounds May the Factory Owner Impose Fines? . . . 40
IV How Big May Fines Be? 47
V What Is the Procedure for Imposing Fines? 50
VI What, According to the Law, Should the Fines Be Spent On? 55
VII Do the Fine Laws Apply to All Workers? 66
VIII Conclusion 69

GYMNASIUM FARMS AND CORRECTIVE GYMNASIA (*Russkoye Bogatstvo*) 73

TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE THORNTON FACTORY 81

WHAT ARE OUR MINISTERS THINKING ABOUT? 87

DRAFT AND EXPLANATION OF A PROGRAMME FOR THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY 93

Draft Programme 95
Explanation of the Programme 98

1896

TO THE TSARIST GOVERNMENT 122

1897

A CHARACTERISATION OF ECONOMIC ROMANTICISM (*Sismondi and Our Native Sismondists*) 129

Chapter I The Economic Theories of Romanticism 134

I Does the Home Market Shrink Because of the Ruination of the Small Producers? 135

II Sismondi's Views on National Revenue and Capital . . 140

III Sismondi's Conclusions from the Fallacious Theory of Two Parts of the Annual Product in Capitalist Society. 146

IV Wherein Lies the Errors of Adam Smith's and Sismondi's Theories of National Revenue? 150

V Accumulation in Capitalist Society 154

VI The Foreign Market as the "Way out of the Difficulty of Realizing Surplus-Value 161

VII Crisis 166

VIII Capitalist Rent and Capitalist Overpopulation. . . . 174

IX Machines in Capitalist Society 184

X Protection 192

XI Sismondi's Place in the History of Political Economy 199

Postscript 207

Chapter II The Character of the Romanticists' Criticism of Capitalism 208

I The Sentimental Criticism of Capitalism 209

II The Petty-Bourgeois Character of Romanticism . . . 220

III The Problem of the Growth of the Industrial Population at the Expense of the Agricultural Population . . . 225

IV Practical Proposals of Romanticism 232

V The Reactionary Character of Romanticism 239

VI Corn Tariffs in England as Appraised by Romanticism and by Scientific Theory 252

THE NEW FACTORY LAW 267

I Why Was the New Factory Law Passed? 271

II What Should Be Considered Working Time? 274

III To What Extent Does the New Law Reduce Working Hours? 276

IV What Does the Law Consider "Night-Time" for the Workers? 278

V How Does the Ministry of Finance Try to Prove That to Restrict Overtime Would be "Unfair" to the Worker? 281
VI What Power Does the New Law Grant the Ministers? 286
VII How Our "Christian" Government Curtails the Workers' Holidays 290
VIII How Is the Observance of the New Law Guaranteed? 295
IX Will the New Law Improve the Workers' Condition? 298
X What Is the Significance of the New Law? 302

Appendix 304

I 304
II 305
III 307
IV 307
V 310
VI 311
VII 314

ABOUT A CERTAIN NEWSPAPER ARTICLE 316
THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 323

To the Workers and Socialists of St. Petersburg from the League of Struggle 348

THE HANDICRAFT CENSUS OF 1894-95 IN PERM GUBERNIA AND GENERAL PROBLEMS OF "HANDICRAFT" INDUSTRY 355

Article One 357

I General Data 358
II The "Handicraftsmen" and Wage-Labour 369
III "Communal-Labour Continuity". 381

Article Two 387

IV The Agriculture of "Handicraftsmen" 387
V Large and Small Establishments.—The Incomes of the Handicraftsmen 403

Article Three 422

VI What Is a Buyer-Up? 422
VII "Gratifying Features" of Handicraft Industry 439
VIII The Narodnik Programme of Industrial Policy . . . 445

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

GEMS OF NARODNIK PROJECT-MONGERING (*S. N. Yuzhakov, Educational Problems. Journalistic Essays.—Secondary-School Reform.—Systems and Aims of Higher Education.—Gymnasium Textbooks.—The Problem of Universal Education.—Women and Education. St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. VIII + 283. Price 1 ruble 50 kopeks.*) 459

I 461
II 462
III 469
IV 472
V 476
VI 480
VII 486

THE HERITAGE WE RENOUNCE 491
I One Representative of the "Heritage" 494
II Narodism's Addition to the "Heritage" 506
III Has the "Heritage" Gained from Association with Narodism? 513
IV The "Enlighteners," the Narodniks, and the "Disciples" 525
V Mr. Mikhailovsky on the "Disciples'" Renunciation of the Heritage 527

Notes 535

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 567

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin, 1897 16-17

The title-page of the *Rabotnik* miscellany in which Lenin's obituary, *Frederick Engels*, was first published. 1896. 17

The title-page of Lenin's pamphlet *Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers*. 1895 31

The cover of *Novoye Slovo* in which Lenin's *Characterisation of Economic Romanticism* and *About a Certain Newspaper Article* were first printed. 1897 131

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet *The New Factory Law*. 1899 269

Cover of the second edition of Lenin's *Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*. 1902 325

Cover of *Economic Studies and Essays* by V. Ilyin (V. I. Lenin) 353

The house in Shushenskoye village in which Lenin lived in exile 466-468

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

I

Page

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA. *The Process of the Formation of the Home Market for Large-Scale Industry* 21-607

Preface to the First Edition 25

Preface to the Second Edition 31

Chapter I. The Theoretical Mistakes of the Narodnik Economists 37

I. The Social Division of Labour 37

The increase in the number of industries 37-38.—The creation of a home market as a result of the social division of labour 38.—The manifestation of this process in agriculture 38-39.—The views of the Narodnik economists 39.

II. The Growth of the Industrial Population at the Expense of the Agricultural 40

The necessary connection between this phenomenon and the very nature of commodity and capitalist economy 40-41.

III. The Ruin of the Small Producers 41

The mistaken view of the Narodniks 41.—The view of the author of *Capital* on this subject 42.

IV. The Narodnik Theory of the Impossibility of Realising Surplus-Value 43

The substance of the theory of Messrs. V. V. and N.—on: its erroneous character 43-45.—The "foreign market" is wrongly dragged into the problem of realisation 46.—The superficial estimation of the contradictions of capitalism by the writers mentioned 47.

V. The Views of Adam Smith on the Production and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Product in Capitalist Society and Marx's Criticism of These Views 47
Adam Smith's omission of constant capital 47-49.—The influence of this error on the theory of the national revenue 49-51.

VI. Marx's Theory of Realisation 51
The basic premises of Marx's theory 51-52.—The realisation of the product under simple reproduction 52-53.—The main conclusion from Marx's theory of realisation 54-55.—The significance of productive consumption 55-56.—The contradiction between the urge towards the unlimited growth of production and the limited character of consumption 56-58.

VII. The Theory of the National Income 58
Proudhon 59-60.—Rodbertus 60-62.—Contemporary econmists 62.—Marx 63-64.

VIII. Why Does the Capitalist Nation Need a Foreign Market? 64
The causes of the need for a foreign market 64-66.—The foreign market and the progressive character of capitalism 66-67.

IX. Conclusions from Chapter I 67
Résumé of the propositions examined above 67-68.—The essence of the problem of the home market 69.

Chapter II. The Differentiation of the Peasantry 70

I. Zemstvo Statistics for Novorossia 70
Economic groups of the peasantry 70-71.—Commercial agriculture and the purchase and sale of labour-power 72.—The top group; the concentration of land 72-73, and of animals and implements 73, the higher productivity of labour 74-75.—Mr. V. V.'s argument of the decline in horse-ownership 75.—The hiring of farm workers and Mr. V. V.'s argument on this phenomenon 76-77.—The bottom group of the peasantry; the leasing of land 77-78.—The middle group, its instability 79-80.—Messrs. V. V. and Karyshev on peasant rentings 80-84.—The attitude of the Narodniks to Mr. Postnikov's researches 84-85.

II. Zemstvo Statistics for Samara Gubernia 85
Data concerning the farms of the different peasant groups in Novouzensk Uyezd 85-87.—The land held and the land in use by the different groups 87-88.—Mr. Karyshev on land renting and grain prices 88-90.—Wage-labour; the creation of a home market by the differentiation of the peasantry 90-92.—The rural proletariat in Samara Gubernia 92-93.

III. Zemstvo Statistics for Saratov Gubernia 93
Data concerning the farms of the different groups 93-94.—The hiring of farm workers 94-95.—"Industries" in Zemstvo statistics 95-96.—Rentings 96-97.—The arguments on land renting advanced by Messrs. Karyshev, N.-on, and Maress 97-101.—A comparison of Kamyshin and other uyezds 101-102.—The significance of the classification of peasant households 102-105.

IV. Zemstvo Statistics for Perm Gubernia 106
Data concerning the farms of the different groups 106-107.—The hiring of farm workers and day labourers and its significance 108-110.—The manuring of the soil 110.—Improved implements 110-111.—Commercial and industrial establishments 111-112.

V. Zemstvo Statistics for Orel Gubernia 112
Data concerning the farms of the different groups 112-113.—Incompleteness of the picture of differentiation from the data for Orel Gubernia 113-115.

VI. Zemstvo Statistics for Voronezh Gubernia 115
Methods of classification in Voronezh abstracts 115-116.—Data for Zadonsk Uyezd 116-117.—Industries 117-118.

VII. Zemstvo Statistics for Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia 119
Data concerning groups of farms for three uyezds 119-122.

VIII. Review of Zemstvo Statistics for Other Gubernias 122
Novgorod Gubernia, Demyansk Uyezd 122-123.—Chernigov Gubernia, Kozeletsk Uyezd 123.—Yenisei Gubernia 124.—Poltava Gubernia, three uyezds 125.—Kaluga Gubernia 126.—Tver Gubernia 126-127.

IX. Summary of the Above Zemstvo Statistics on the Differentiation of the Peasantry. 127
Methods of marking the summary 127-129.—Combined table and chart 130-133 and 140-141.—Examination of the various columns of the chart 134-139.—Comparison between different localities as to the degree of differentiation 140-141.

X. Summary of Zemstvo Statistics and Army-Horse Census Returns 141
Zemstvo Statistics for 112 uyezds of 21 gubernias 141-143.—Army-horse census returns for 49 gubernias of European Russia 143-144.—Significance of these data 144-145.

XI. A Comparison of the Army-Horse Censuses of 1888-1891 and 1896-1900 146
Data for 48 gubernias of European Russia 146-147.—Statistical exercises of Messrs. Vikhlyayev and Chernenkov 147-148.

XII. Zemstvo Statistics on Peasant Budgets 148
Character of the data and methods of treating them 148-150.—(A). General results of the budgets 150-157.—Magnitude of expenditures and incomes 150.—Components of expenditures 151. —Components of incomes 152-153—Cash portions of the budgets 154-155.—The significance of the taxes 155-156.—(B). A characterisation of peasant farming 157-162.—General data about the farms 157-158.—Property and implements 159.—Farm expenditure 160-161.—Income from agriculture 161.—An apparent exception 161-162.—(C). A characterisation of the standard of living 162-172.—Expenditure on food in kind 162-163.—Expenditure on food in cash 163-164.—Remaining expenditures on personal consumption 165.—Cash expenditure on personal and productive consumption 165-166.—Mr. N.-on about the top "stratum" of the peasantry 166-167.—A comparison between the standard of living or rural

workers and peasants 167-169.—Methods of Mr. Shcherbina 170-172.

XIII. Conclusions from Chapter II 172
The significance of commodity economy 172.—1) Capitalist contradictions within the village community 172-173.—2) "Depeasantising" 173-174.—3) Characterisation of this process in Capital 173-176.—4) The peasant bourgeoisie 176-177.—5) The rural proletariat. The European type of allotment-holding rural worker 177-180—6) The middle peasantry 181.—7) The formation of a home market for capitalism 181.—8) Increasing differentiation; significance of migration 182-183.—9) Merchant's and usurer's capital. The presentation of the problem in theory. The connection between these forms of capital and industrial capital 183-186.—10) Labour-service and its influence on the differentiation of the peasantry 186-187.

Chapter III. The Landowners' Transition from Corvée to Capitalist Economy. . . . 191

I. The Main Features of Corvée Economy 191
The essence of the serf system of economy and the conditions for it 191-193.

II. The Combination of the Corvée and the Capitalist Systems of Economy 193
The remnants of the old system after the Reform 193-194.—The labour-service and the capitalist systems 194-195; their relative incidence 195-197.—The transition from the labour-service system to the capitalist 197-198.

III. Description of the Labour-Service System 198
Types of labour-service 198-199.—Rentings in kind and their significance 199-200.—The payment of labour under labour-service 201-203.—Personal dependence under labour-service 203-204.—General estimation of labour-service 204-205.

IV. The Decline of the Labour-Service System . . . 205
Two types of labour-service 205-206.—The significance of the differentiation of the peasantry 206-208.—View of Mr. Stebut 209.—Views in various publications 209-210.

V. The Narodnik Attitude to the Problem. 210
The idealisation of labour-service 210-211.—Mr. Kablukov's argument 211-215.

VI. The Story of Engelhardt's Farm. 215
The original condition of the farm and the nature of the gradual changes made in it 215-219.

VII. The Employment of Machinery in Agriculture . . . 219
Four periods in the development of agricultural machinery production 219-220.—Incompleteness of official statistics 220-223.—Data on the employment of various agricultural machines 223-228.

VIII. The Significance of Machinery in Agriculture . . . 228
The capitalist character of the employment of machinery 228-230.—Results of the employment of machinery 230-235.—The inconsistency of the Narodniks 235-237.

IX. Wage-Labour in Agriculture. 237
"Agricultural outside employments" 237, their significance 237-238, their scale 239-240.—Number of agricultural workers in all European Russia 240-242.

X. The Significance of Hired Labour in Agriculture 242
The conditions of agricultural workers 242-243.—Specific forms of hire 243-245.—The conditions of workers of small and big employers 245-246.—First elements of public control 246-248.—The appraisal of agricultural migration by the Narodniks 248-251.

Chapter IV. The Growth of Commercial Agriculture. 252

I. General Data on agricultural Production in Post-Reform Russia and on the Types of Commercial Agriculture. 252
The production of cereals and potatoes in 1864-1865, 1870-1879, 1883-1887, 1885-1894, 252-253.—Potato sowing and its significance 253-254.—Areas of commercial agriculture 255.—Mr. Kablukov's arguments 256.

II. The Commercial Grain-Farming Area. 257
The shifting of the principal centre of cereal production 257.—The significance of the outer regions as colonies 257-258.—The capitalist character of agriculture in this area 259-261.

III. The Commercial Stock-Farming Area. General Data on the Development of Dairy Farming 261
The significance of stock farming in the different areas 261-262.—The calculations of Messrs. Kovalevsky and Levitsky 263.—The development of cheese-making 264-266.—The incompleteness of official data 266.—Technical progress 266-267.

IV. Continuation. The Economy of Landlord Farming in the Area Described 267
The rationalisation of agriculture 267-268.—"Amalgamated dairies" and their significance 268-270.—The formation of a home market 270.—The migration of agricultural workers to the industrial gubernias 271.—The more-even distribution of jobs throughout the year 271-273.—The small cultivators' dependence and its estimation by-Mr. V. V 273-275.

V. Continuation. The Differentiation of the Peasantry on the Dairy-Farming Area 275
The distribution of cows among the peasants 275-276.—Details of St. Petersburg Uyezd 276-278.—"Progressive trends in peasant farming" 279-280.—The influence of this progress on the poor 280-282.

VI. The Flax-Growing Area 282
The growth of commercial flax-growing 282-284.—Exchange between different types of commercial agriculture 284.—"Extremes" in the flax area 285.—Technical improvements 285-287.

VII. The Technical Processing of Agricultural Produce 287
The significance of the factory or technical system of farming 287-288.

1) Distilling 288
The extent of agricultural distilling 288-289.—The development and the significance of potato distilling 289-292.
2) Beet-Sugar Production 291
The growth of sugar-beet production 291-292.—The progress of capitalist agriculture 292-294.
3) Potato-Starch Production 294
Its growth 294-295.—Two processes in the development of this branch of production 295.—The starch "industry" in Moscow Gubernia 295-297 and in Vladimir Gubernia 297-298.
4) Vegetable Oil Production 298
The dual processes of its development 298.—Oil pressing as a cottage industry 299-300.
5) Tobacco Growing 300

VIII. Industrial Vegetable and Fruit Growing; Suburban Farming 304
The growth of commercial fruit growing 304 and vegetable growing 304-305.—Peasant vegetable growers in the St. Petersburg, Moscow and Yaroslavl gubernias 305-307.—The hothouse industry 307.—Industrial melon growing 307-309.—Suburban farming and its characteristics 309-310.

IX. Conclusions on the Significance of Capitalism in Russian Agriculture 310
1) On the transformation of agriculture into enterprise 310.—2) The specific features of capitalism in agriculture 311-312.—3) The formation of a home market for capitalism 312-313.—4) The progressive historical role of capitalism in Russian agriculure 313-318.

X. Narodnik Theories on Capitalism in Agriculture. "The Freeing of Winter Time". 318
The narrow and stereotyped character of this theory 318.—Its omission of highly important aspects of the process 318-323.

XI. Continuation.—The Village Community.—Marx's View on Small-Scale Agriculture.—Engels's Opinion of the Contemporary Agricultural Crisis 323
The Narodnik's wrong presentation of the problem of the village community 323-325.—Their misunderstanding of a passage in Capital 325-326.—Marx's estimation of peasant agriculture 326-327.—His estimation of agricultural capitalism 327.—Mr. N.—on's inappropriate quotation 327-330.

Chapter V. The First Stages of Capitalism in Industry 331

I. Domestic Industry and Handicrafts 331
The remants of domestic industry 331.—The extent of the prevalence of handicrafts 332-333, their basic features 333-334.

II. Small Commodity-Producers in Industry. The Craft Spirit in the Small Industries 334
The transition from handicrafts to commodity production 334-335.—The fear of competition 335-337.

III. The Growth of Small Industries after the Reform. Two Forms of This Process and Its Significance . . . 338
Causes of the growth of small industries 338.—The settlement of industrialists in the outer regions 339.—The growth of small industries among the local population 339-341.—The shift of capital 342-343.—The connection between the growth of small industries and the differentiation of the peasantry 343.

IV. The Differentiation of the Small Commodity-Producers. Data on House-to-House Censuses of Handicraftsmen in Moscow Gubernia 344
Presentation of the problem 344.—The method of processing the data 344-346.—Combined table and chart 347 and 349.—Conclusions: wage-labour 348, 351, productivity of labour 351-353, incomes 355.—The petty-bourgeois structure of handicraft industries 355.

V. Capitalist Simple Co-operation 356
Its significance and influence on production 356-359.—Artels 359-360.

VI. Merchant's Capital in the Small Industries 360
The conditions that give rise to the buyer-up 360-361.—Tradeswomen in the lace industry 362-364.—Examples of marketing organisation 364-366.—Views of the Narodniks 366-367.—Forms of merchant's capital 367-369.

VII. "Industry and Agriculture" 369
Data of the table 369-370.—The agriculture of wage-workers 371.—"Land labourers" 371-372.—Other data concerning industry and agriculture 372-376.—Length of the working period 376.—Résumé 376-378.

VIII. "The Combination of Industry with Agriculture" 378
The Narodnik's theory 378.—The forms in which industry is combined with agriculture and their diverse significance 378-380.

IX. Some Remarks on the Pre-Capitalist Economy of Our Countryside 380

Chapter VI. Capitalist Manufacture and Capitalist Domestic Industry 384

I. The Rise of Manufacture and Its Main Features . . 384
The concept of manufacture 384, its dual origin 384-385 and significance 385.

II. Capitalist Manufacture in Russian Industry 386
1) The Weaving Industries 386
2) Other Branches of the Textile Industry. The Felt Trade 390
3) The Hat-and-Cap and Hemp-and-Rope Trades 393
4) The Wood-Working Trades 397
5) The Processing of Livestock Produce. The Leather and Fur Trades 402
6) The Remaining Livestock Processing Trades 409
7) The Processing of Mineral Products 413

8) The Metal Trades. The Pavlovo Industries 415
9) Other Metal Trades 419
10) The Jewellery, Samovar and Accordian Trades 422

III. Technique in Manufacture. Division of Labour and Its Significance 427
Hand production 427-428.—apprenticeship 427-28.—Division of labour as a stage preparatory to large-scale machine industry 428-429, its influence on the workers 429-431.

IV. The Territorial Division of Labour and the Separation of Agriculture from Industry 431
Mr. Kharizomenov's opinion 431-432.—Non-agricultural centres 432-434.—The transitional character of manufacture 434-435.—The raising of the cultural level of the population 434-435.

V. The Economic Structure of Manufacture 435
The circumstances of production 435-436.—How Mr. Ovayannikov and Kharizomenov describe it 436-438.

VI. Merchant's and Industrial Capital in Manufacture. The "Buyer-up" and the "Factory Owner". . . . 438
The connection between the big and the small establishments 438-440.—The error of the Narodniks 441.

VII. Capitalist Domestic Industry as an Appendage of Manufacture 441
Its incidence 441-442, its characteristic features 442-445, the conditions making for its spread 445-446, its significance in the theory of the surplus-population 446-448.

VIII. What Is "Handicraft" Industry? 448
Some aggregate statistics on handicraftsmen 448-450.—The predominance of capitalistically employed workers 450-451.—The vagueness of the term "handicraft" and the abuse of it 451-453.

Chapter VII. The Development of Large-Scale Machine Industry 454

I. The Scientific Conception of the Factory and the Significance of "Factory" Statisitics 454

II. Our Factory Statistics 456
There sources 456.—Publications of the 60s 457-458.—The specific character of the *Military Statistical Abstract* 459-461.—Mr. Orlov's *Directory* 461-462.—The *Collections* of the Department of Commerce and Manufactures 463-464.—*The Returns for Russia for 1884-85*; Mr. Karyshev's errors 464-465.—Data of gubernia statistical committees 466.—The *List* 466.—Is the number of factories in Russia growing? 467-468.

II. An Examination of Historical-Statistical Data on the Development of Large-Scale Industry 468
1) Textile Trades 469
2) Wood-Working Industries 474
3) Chemical, Livestock Product and Ceramic Industries 475

4) Metallurgical Industries 478
5) Food Industries 479
6) Excise-Paying and Other Trades 481
7) Conclusions 483

IV. The Development of the Mining Industry 484
The Urals, their specific features 484-488.—The South 488-491.—The Causasus 491-492.—The big and small mines in the Donets Basin 492-494.—The significance of the data on the development of the mining industry 494-496.

V. Is the Number of Workers in Large Capitalist Enterprises Growing? 496
Data for the years 1865, 1879, 1890 496-499.—Mistaken Method of the Narodniks 499-507.

VI. Steam-Engine Statistics 507
Data for the years 1875-1878 and 1892 507-509.

VII. The Growth of Large Factories 509
Data for the years 1866, 1879, 1890 and 1894-95 509-514.—The largest enterprises in factory industry and in the mining industry 514-515.—The errors of Mr. N. —on 515-517.

VIII. The Distribution of Large-Scale Industry 518
Data on the leading centres of factory industry in the years 1879 and 1890 518-519.—Three types of centres 519-521.—The classification of the centres 521-523.—The growth of rural factory centres and its significance 523-525.

IX. The Development of the Lumber and Building Industries. 525
The growth of the lumber industry 525-526; its organisation 526-530.—The growth of capitalism in the building industry 530-533.

X. The Appendage to the Factory 534

XI. The Complete Separation of Industry from Agriculture 536
The error of the Narodniks 536-537.—Moscow Zemstvo sanitary statistics 537-541.

XII. Three Stages in the Development of Capitalism in Russian Industry 541
The connection between all the stages 541-543.—Specific technical features 543.—The growth of capitalist relationships 543-544.—The character of the development of industry 544-545.—The separation of industry from agriculture 545-548. —Differences in living conditions 548-550.—The growth of the home market 550-551.

Chapter VIII. The Formation of the Home Market 552

I. The Growth of Commodity Circulation 552
The development of the railways 552-553, water transport 553-554, commerce and the banks 554-557.

II. The Growth of the Commercial and Industrial Population 557
1) The Growth of Towns 557
2) The Significance of Home Colonisation . . 562
3) The Growth of Factory and of Commercial and Industrial Townships and Villages . . 566
4) Non-Agricultural Outside Employments . . 568

Non-agricultural outside employments 568-581, their size and growth 568-576, their progressive role 576-579, the appraisal of them by Narodnik writers 579-581.

III. The Growth of the Employment of Wage-Labour . . 581

Approximate number of wage-workers 581-583.—Capitalist surplus-population 583.—The error of the Narodniks 583-586.

IV. The Formation of a Home Market for Labour-Power 586

The main movements of wage-workers in connection with the size of wages 586-589.—The formation of a home market 589-590.—Mr. N. —on's "theory" 590-591.

V. The Significance of the Border Regions. Home or Foreign Market? 591

Capitalism's urge for expansion 591-592.—The example of the Caucasus 593-594.—Two aspects of the process of the formation of a market 594-596.

VI. The "Mission" of Capitalism 596

The increase in the productivity of social labour 596-598.—The socialisation of labour 598-600.—The cause of differences with the Narodniks 600-601.

Appendices:

I. Combined Table of Statistics on Small Peasant Industries of Moscow Gubernia (to Chapter V, p. 345) 600-601

II. Table of Statistics on the Factory Industry of European Russia (to Chapter VII, p. 456). 601

III. The Chief Centres of Factory Industry in European Russia (to Chapter VII, p. 519) 603

II

UNCRITICAL CRITICISM. (*Regarding Mr. P. Skvortsvo's Article "Commodity Fetishism" in Nachnoye Obozreniye, No. 12, 1899*) 609

I. 611
II. 618
III. 624

Notes 633

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin, 1897 6-7

Cover of the first edition of Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, 1899 23

Cover of the second edition of Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, 1908, autographed by the author . 29

Cover of the German edition (1894) of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. III, Part 1, used by Lenin 35

Pages 276-277 of the *Statistical Returns of Poltava Gubernia* (Vol. XIV, 1894) with V. I. Lenin's notes 128-129

Chart illustrating Tables A & B, § IX, Chapter II 144-145

A page from V. I. Lenin's copybook with notes ad calculations from N. A. Blagoveshchensky's book *Combined Statistical Returns* (1895) 160-161

Page 96 from the magazine *Nachalo*, No. 3 for 1899, in which the first six sectios of Chapter III of Lenin's *The Development Capitalism in Russia* were published . . 189

Chart of summarised data given in the Table in § IV of Chaper V. 349

Diagram illustrating the organisation of he felt industry 391

Page 405 of *The Development Capitalism in Russia* (1908 edition) with V. I. Lenin's notes 513

V. I. Lenin's grouping of towns in European Russia according to the population census of 1897 559

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 4

1898 – April 1901

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 11

1898

ON THE QUESTION OF OUR FACTORY STATISTICS *(Professor Karyshev's New Statistical Exploits)* 13

REVIEW. ***A. Bogdanov***. *A Short Course of Economic Science*. Moscow. 1897. Publ. A. Murinova's Bookshop. 290 pp. Price 2 rubles 29

A NOTE ON THE QUESTION OF THE MARKET THEORY *(Apropos of the Polemic of Messrs. Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov)* . . 55

1899

REVIEW. ***Parvus***. *The World Market and the Agricultural Crisis*. Economic Essays. Translated from the German by L. Y., St. Petersburg, 1898. Publ. O. N. Popova (Educational Library, Series 2, No. 2). 142 pp. Price 40 kopeks 65

REVIEW. ***R. Gvozdev***. *Kulak Usury*, *Its Social and Economic Significance*. St. Petersburg, 1899. Publ. N. Garin 67

REVIEW. ***Commercial and Industrial Russia***. Handbook for Merchants and Factory Owners. Compiled under the Editorship of A. A. Blau, Head of the Statistical Division of the Department of Commerce and Manufactures. St. Petersburg, 1899. Price 10 rubles. 70

ONCE MORE ON THE THEORY OF REALISATION 74

REVIEW. ***Karl Kautsky***. *Die Agrarfrage*. Eine Uebersicht über die Tendenzen der modernen Landwirtschaft und die Agrarpolitik u.s.w. Stuttgart, Dietz, 1899 94

REVIEW. ***J. A. Hobson***. *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. Translated from the English. St. Petersburg, 1898. Publ. O. N. Popova. Price 1 rb. 50 kop 100

CAPITALISM IN AGRICULTURE *(Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)* 105

First Article 109

I 110
II 113
III 119
IV 131
V 137

Second Article 146

I 146
II 157

REPLY TO Mr. P. NEZHDANOV 160

A PROTEST BY RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 167

REVIEW. ***S. N. Prokopovich***. *The Working-Class Movement in the West* 183

REVIEW. ***Karl Kautsky***. *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik* 193

ARTICLES FOR "RABOCHAYA GAZETA" 205

LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL GROUP 207
OUR PROGRAMME 210
OUR IMMEDIATE TASK 215
AN URGENT QUESTION 221

A DRAFT PROGRAMME OF OUR PARTY 227

A RETROGRADE TREND IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 255

APROPOS OF THE *PROFESSION DE FOI* 286

FACTORY COURTS 297

ON STRIKES 310

1900

DRAFT OF A DECLARATION OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ISKRA* AND *ZARYA* 320

HOW THE "SPARK" WAS NEARLY EXTINGUISHED 333

DRAFT AGREEMENT 350

DECLARATION OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ISKRA* 351

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET, *MAY DAYS IN KHARKOV* 357

THE URGENT TASKS OF OUR MOVEMENT 366

THE WAR IN CHINA 372

THE SPLIT IN THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD 378

NOTE OF DECEMBER 29, 1900 380

FROM MARX TO MAO

1901

CASUAL NOTES 383

I. Beat – but Not to Death! 387

II. Why Accelerate the Vicissitude of the Times? . . . 403

III. Objective Statistics 408

THE DRAFTING OF 183 STUDENTS INTO THE ARMY 414

THE WORKERS' PARTY AND THE PEASANTRY 420

Notes 429

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 457

NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin, 1897 12-13

Cover of the magazine *Zhizn* in which Lenin's "Capitalism in Agriculture" was published in 1900 107

Facsimile of the first page of the reprint of "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" from No. 4-5 of *Rabocheye Dyelo*. 1899 169

Page 6 of the manuscript of Lenin's "Review of S. N. Prokopovich's Book." End of 1899 185

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Draft Programme of Our Party." 1899 240-41

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "How the 'Spark' Was Nearly Extinguished." 1900 331

First page of the separate leaflet "Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*." 1900 352-53

Facsimile of the cover of the pamphlet, *May Days in Kharkov*. 1901 359

Facsimile of page 1 of the first issue of the newspaper *Iskra*. 1900 366-67

Facsimile of the cover of the first issue of the magazine *Zarya*. April 1901 385

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 5

May 1901 – February 1902

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 11

1901

WHERE TO BEGIN 13

ANOTHER MASSACRE 25

THE PERSECUTORS OF THE ZEMSTVO AND THE HANNIBALS OF LIBERALISM 31

I 36
II 43
III 48
IV 55
V 62
VI 72

A VALUABLE ADMISSION 81

THE LESSONS OF THE CRISIS 89

THE SERF-OWNERS AT WORK 95

A ZEMSTVO CONGRESS 101

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE "CRITICS OF MARX" 103

I The "Law" of Diminishing Returns 107
II The Theory of Rent 119
III Machinery in Agriculture 130
IV The Abolition of the Antithesis Between Town and Country. Particular Questions Raised by the "Critics" 146
V "The Prosperity of Advanced, Modern Small Farms". The Baden Example 159

VI The Productivity of a Small and a Big Farm. An Example from East Prussia 167

VII The Inquiry into Peasant Farming in Baden. 182

VIII General Statistics of German Agriculture for 1882 and 1895. The Question of the Medium Farms . . . 194

IX Dairy Farming and Agricultural Co-operative Societies in Germany. The Agricultural Population in Germany Divided According to Its Position in the Economy 205

THE "UNITY" CONFERENCE OF R.S.D L.P. ORGANISATIONS ABROAD, September 21-22 (October 4-5), 1901 223

1. SPEECH DELIVERED ON SEPTEMBER 21 (OCTOBER 4). (*Note from the Minutes*) 225

2. QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD AT THE "UNITY" CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 21 (OCTOBER 4), 1901 230

FIGHTING THE FAMINE-STRICKEN 231

REPLY TO THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE 239

PARTY AFFAIRS ABROAD. 241

PENAL SERVITUDE REGULATIONS AND PENAL SERVITUDE SENTENCES 243

REVIEW OF HOME AFFAIRS 251

I Famine 253

II Attitude Towards the Crisis and the Famine 274

III The Third Element 281

IV Two Speeches by Marshals of the Nobility 289

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *DOCUMENTS OF THE "UNITY" CONFERENCE* 302

THE PROTEST OF THE FINNISH PEOPLE 306

THE JOURNAL *SVOBODA* 311

A TALK WITH DEFENDERS OF ECONOMISM 313

ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF G. V. PLEKHANOV 321

DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEGUN 322

ON A LETTER FROM SOUTHERN WORKERS 326

ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM 327

1902

CONCERNING THE STATE BUDGET 331

POLITICAL AGITATION AND "THE CLASS POINT OF VIEW" 337

REPLY TO "A READER" 344

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? *Burning Questions of Our Movement* . . . 347

Preface 349

I Dogmatism and "Freedom of Criticism" 352

A. What Does "Freedom of Criticism" Mean? 352

B. The New Advocates of "Freedom of Criticism" . . . 356

C. Criticism in Russia 361

D. Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle 368

II The Spontaneity of the Masses and the Consciousness of the Social-Democrats 373

A. The Beginning of the Spontaneous Upsurge 374

B. Bowing to Spontaneity. *Rabochaya Mysl* 378

C. The Self-Emancipation Group and *Rabocheye Dyelo* 387

III Trade-Unionist Politics and Social-Democratic Politics 397

A. Political Agitation and Its Restriction by the Economists 398

B. How Martynov Rendered Plekhanov More Profound 408

C. Political Exposures and "Training in Revolutionary Activity" 412

D. What Is There in Common Between Economism and Terrorism? 417

E. The Working Class as Vanguard Fighter for Democracy 421

F. Once More "Slanderers", Once More "Mystifiers" . . . 436

IV The Primitiveness of the Economists and the Organisation of the Revolutionaries 440

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

A. What Is Primitiveness? 441
B. Primitiveness and Economism 444
C. Organisation of Workers and Organisation of Revolutionaries 451
D. The Scope of Organisational Work 467
E. "Conspirational" Organisation and "Democratism" 473
F. Local and All-Russian Work 482
V The "Plan" for an All-Russian Political Newspaper 492
A. Who Was Offended by the Article "Where To Begin" 493
B. Can a Newspaper Be a Collective Organiser? 498
C. What type of Organisation Do We Require? 510
Conclusion 517
Appendix. The Attempt to Unite *Iskra* with *Rabocheye Dyelo* 521
Correction to *What Is To Be Done?* 528
Notes 531
The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology 569

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of *Iskra*, No. 4, carrying Lenin's article "Where To Begin". 1901 15

Facsimile of the cover of the magazine *Zarya*, No. 2-3 1901; which published the following of Lenin's writings: "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism", the first four chapters of "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'" (under the heading "'Critics' on the Agrarian Question"), and "Review of Home Affairs" 33

Facsimile of the title page of the magazine *Obrasovaniye*, No. 2, for 1906 which carried chapters V-IX of Lenin's "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'" 105

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "The Journal *Svoboda*". 1901 312-313

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Anarchism and Socialism". 1901 329

Cover of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* 1902 348-49

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 6

January 1902–August 1903

Second Impression

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

PREFACE 13

1902

MATERIAL FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 15

NOTES ON PLEKHANOV'S FIRST DRAFT PROGRAMME 17

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 25

THREE AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 32

NOTES ON PLEKHANOV'S SECOND DRAFT PROGRAMME 35

OPINION ON PLEKHANOV'S SECOND DRAFT 56

REMARKS ON THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFT PROGRAMME 59

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFT PROGRAMME 72

Addition Concerning the Class Struggle 73

AN AMENDMENT TO THE AGRARIAN SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME. 75

SIGNS OF BANKRUPTCY 77

FROM THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF RUSSIA 84

1. The Savings-Banks 85

REPORT OF THE ISKRA EDITORIAL BOARD TO THE MEETING (CONFERENCE) OF R.S.D.L.P. COMMITTEES 95

(N.B.) Rough Outline of Resolution 103

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 105

I 107

II 109

III 115

IV 117
V 121
VI 124
VII 130
VIII 140
IX 143
X 145

A LETTER TO THE ZEMSTVOISTS 149

ON THE *BORBA* GROUP 158

A LETTER TO THE NORTHERN LEAGUE. *Comments on the Programme of the Northern League* 159

WHY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS MUST DECLARE A DETERMINED AND RELENTLESS WAR ON THE SOCLALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 170

TWO LETTERS TO I. I. RADCHENKO 174

I 174
II 180

REVOLUTIONARY ADVENTURISM 184

I 184
II 194

A LETTER TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE 206

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET, *THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS*. 209

THE DRAFT OF A NEW LAW ON STRIKES 215

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *YUZHNY RABOCHY*. 225

A LETTER TO A COMRADE ON OUR ORGANISATIONAL TASKS 229

POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL CHICANERY 251

CONCERNING DEMONSTRATIONS 260

VULGAR SOCIALISM AND NARODISM AS RESURRECTED BY THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 261

ON THE TASKS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT 269

THE BASIC THESIS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 271

NEW EVENTS AND OLD QUESTIONS 276

TO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS 282

ON THE *SVOBODA* GROUP 283

EXTRACT FROM AN ARTICLE AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 285

DRAFT APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN ORGANISING COMMITTEE TO THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY, THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD, AND THE FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF THE BUND 287

ON THE SUBJECT OF REPORTS BY COMMITTEES AND GROUPS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE GENERAL PARTY CONGRESS 288

I. The Working-Class Movement, Its History and Present State 290

II. History of the Local Socialist Circles, Appearance of the Social-Democrats, Struggle of Trends Within Them 291

III. Organisation of the Local Committee, Local Groups and Circles 292

IV. Character, Content, and Scope of Local Work 293

V. Attitude Towards Revolutionary (Especially Social-Democratic) Groups of Other Races and Nationalities 295

VI. Print-Shops, Transport, and Arrangements for Secret Work 295

VII. Contacts and Activity Among Sections of the Population Outside the Working Class 296

VIII. State of the Non-Social-Democratic Revolutionary and Opposition Trends and Attitude Towards Them 297

1903

MOSCOW ZUBATOVISTS IN ST. PETERSBURG 299

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF AN ORGANISING COMMITTEE 305

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE LETTER FROM "7 Ts. 6 F." . . . 310

CONCERNING THE STATEMENT OF THE BUND. 317

ON THE MANIFESTO OF THE LEAGUE OF THE ARMENIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. 324

DOES THE JEWISH PROLETARIAT NEED AN "INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY"?. 328

MARXIST VIEWS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN EUROPE AND IN RUSSIA 335

Programme of Lectures 339
Outline of Lecture One. General Theory. 340
Domination of Capitalist Agriculture. Rent 342

THE AUTOCRACY IS WAVERING. 346

Mr. STRUVE EXPOSED BY HIS COLLEAGUE 352

TO THE RURAL POOR.
An Explanation for the Peasants of What the Social-Democrats Want 359

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

1. The Struggle of the Urban Workers 363
2. What Do the Social-Democrats Want? 365
3. Riches and Poverty, Property-Owners and Workers in the Countryside 375
4. What Path Should the Middle Peasant Take? Should He Take the Side of the Property-Owners and the Rich or the Side of the Workers and the Poor? 389
5. What Improvements Are the Social-Democrats Striving to Obtain for the Whole People and for the Workers? 396
6. What Improvements Are the Social-Democrats Striving to Obtain for All the Peasants?. 406
7. The Class Struggle in the Countryside 421

The Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Proposed by the Newspaper *Iskra* in Conjunction with the Magazine *Zarya* 428

LES BEAUX ESPRITS SE RENCONTRENT (*Which May Be Interpreted Roughly as: Birds of a Feather Flock Together*) 431

REPLY TO CRITICISM OF OUR DRAFT PROGRAMME 436

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN OUR PROGRAMME 452

OUTLINE OF AN ARTICLE AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 462

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P., JULY 17 (30)-AUGUST 10 (23), 1903 465

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON DEMONSTRATIONS. 467
2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PLACE OF THE BUND IN THE PARTY 468
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH 469
4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PARTY LITERATURE 470
5. DRAFTS OF MINOR RESOLUTIONS 471

The Economic Struggle 471
May Day 471
International Congress 471
Terrorism 472
Propaganda 472
Distribution of Forces 472

6. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PUBLICATION OF A PERIODICAL FOR MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS SECTS 473
7. DRAFT RULES OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 474

8. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS NOT SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS 477
Withdrawal of the Bund 477
Separate Groups 478
The Army 478
The Peasantry 478
9. FIRST SPEECH ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS, JULY 18 (31) 480
10. SECOND SPEECH ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS, JULY 18 (31) 481
11. SPEECH ON THE ACTIONS OF THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE, JULY 18 (31) 482
12. SPEECH ON THE ATTENDANCE OF THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE CONGRESS, JULY 18 (31) 483
13. SPEECH ON THE PLACE OF THE BUND IN THE R.S.D.L.P., JULY 20 (AUGUST 2) 484
14. SPEECH ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME, JULY 22 (AUGUST 4) 487
15. REPORT ON THE PARTY RULES, JULY 29 (AUGUST 11) 490
16. FIRST SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME, JULY 31 (AUGUST 13) 491
17. SECOND SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME, AUGUST 1 (14) 494
18. THIRD SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME, AUGUST 1 (14) 496
19. FOURTH SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME, AUGUST 1 (14) 497
20. FIRST SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PARTY RULES, AUGUST 2 (15) 498
21. SECOND SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PARTY RULES, AUGUST 2 (15) 499
22. SPEECH AT THE ELECTION OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ISKRA*, AUGUST 7 (20) 503
23. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH, AUGUST 10 (23) 507
AN ERA OF REFORMS 508
THE LATEST WORD IN BUNDIST NATIONALISM 516
MARTOV'S CONTRADICTIONS AND ZIGZAGS 520
Notes 521
The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 565

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "Draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party". 1902 16-17

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "Notes on Plekhanov's Second Draft Programme". 1902 33

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy". 1902. 108-109

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet, *A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks*, 1904 231

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "On the Subject of Reports by Committees and Groups of the R.S.D.L.P. to the General Party Congress". December 1902-January 1903 288-89

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "Marxist Views on the Agrarian Question in Europe and in Russia". 1903 337

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*. 1903 361

Calculations of land distribution according to class groups compiled by Lenin in the preparation of the pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*. 1903 376-77

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 7

September 1903–December 1904

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1903

ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 15

FOILED!. 35

PLAN OF LETTERS ON TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH 41

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH. *First Letter* . . 43

SECOND PARTY CONGRESS. *Plan of Article* 57

MAXIMUM BRAZENNESS AND MINIMUM LOGIC 59

DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION 66

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY ABROAD, October 13-18 (*26-31*), *1903* 69

1. PREFATORY REMARKS TO THE REPORT ON THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P., OCTOBER 13 (26) 71

I 71

II 71

III 72

IV 72

2. REPORT ON THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P., OCTOBER 14 (27) 73

3. STATEMENT CONCERNING MARTOV'S REPORT, OCTOBER 15 (28). 84

4. SPEECH ON THE RULES OF THE LEAGUE, OCTOBER 17 (30) 85

AN UNSUBMITTED STATEMENT 86

STATEMENT OF RESIGNATION FROM THE PARTY COUNCIL AND FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN 91

THE POSITION OF THE BUND IN THE PARTY 92

THE NARODNIK-LIKE BOURGEOISIE AND DISTRAUGHT NARODISM 103

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 112

AN UNISSUED STATEMENT 113

LETTER TO *ISKRA* 114

WHY I RESIGNED FROM THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD. *A Letter to the Editors of "Iskra"* 118

LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE ABROAD, THE PARTY AID GROUPS, AND TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS ABROAD 125

NOTE ON THE POSITION OF THE NEW *ISKRA* 129

1904

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *A LETTER TO A COMRADE ON OUR ORGANISATIONAL TASKS* 131

POSTSCRIPT TO THE PAMPHLET *A LETTER TO A COMRADE ON OUR ORGANISATIONAL TASKS* 133

TO THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP 139

SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE R.S.D.L.P., January 15-17 (28-30), 1904 143

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON MEASURES TO RESTORE PEACE IN THE PARTY, MOVED ON JANUARY 15 (28) 145
2. DISSENTING OPINION RECORDED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, JANUARY 17 (30) 148
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CONVENING THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS, JANUARY 17 (30) 152
4. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS MOVED ON JANUARY 17 (30) 153
   - I 153
   - II 153
   - III 153
5. SPEECHES ON MEASURES TO RESTORE PEACE IN THE PARTY, JANUARY 15 (28) 154
   - I 154
   - II 155
   - III 157
   - IV 158
   - V 161

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

6. SPEECHES ON MEASURES TO RESTORE PEACE IN THE PARTY, JANUARY 16 (29) 164
VI 164
VII 168
VIII 171
IX 175
7. SPEECHES ON CONVENING THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS, JANUARY 17 (30) 177
I 177
II 177
III 178
8. SPEECHES ON THE PUBLICATION OF PARTY LITERATURE, JANUARY 17 (30) 179
I 179
II 182
III 184
IV 185

TO THE PARTY 186

CIRCUMSTANCES OF RESIGNATION FROM THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD 191

MAY DAY 197

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK (*The Crisis in Our Party*) 201
Preface 203
A. The Preparations for the Congress 207
B. Significance of the Various Groupings at the Congress 209
C. Beginning of the Congress. The Organising Committee Incident 212
D. Dissolution of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* Group 221
E. The Equality of Languages Incident 224
F. The Agrarian Programme. 231
G. The Party Rules. Comrade Martov's Draft 239
H. Discussion on Centralism *Prior* to the Split Among the *Iskra*-ists 248
I. Paragraph One of the Rules 253
J. Innocent Victims of a False Accusation of Opportunism 276
K. Continuation of the Debate on the Rules. Composition of the Council 286
L. Conclusion of the Debate on the Rules. Co-optation to the Central Bodies. Withdrawal of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* Delegates 292

M. The Elections. End of the Congress 306
N. General Picture of the Struggle at the Congress. The Revolutionary and Opportunist Wings of the Party 332
O. After the Congress. Two Methods of Struggle 347
P. Little Annoyances Should Not Stand in the Way of a Big Pleasure 366
Q. The New *Iskra*. Opportunism in Questions of Organisation. 377
R. A Few Words on Dialectics. Two Revolutions 407
Appendix. The Incident of Comrade Gusev and Comrade Deutsch 414

LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 424

STATEMENT BY THREE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 428

TO THE PARTY 430

SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE R.S.D.L.P., May 31 (June 13) and June 5 (18), 1904 433
1. SPEECHES CONCERNING AN INTER-PARTY CONFERENCE, MAY 31 (JUNE 13) 435
I 435
II 437
2. SPEECHES ON CO-OPTATION TO THE COMMITTEES AND THE RIGHT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO APPOINT NEW MEMBERS TO THEM, JUNE 5 (18) 438
I 438
II 439
III 440
3. SPEECH ON THE NEWSPAPER *RASSVET*, JUNE 5 (18) 442

WHAT WE ARE WORKING FOR (*To the Party*) 443

TO THE PARTY 452

TO FIVE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *For Russia* 460

LETTER TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE AGENTS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. SIDING WITH THE SECOND PARTY CONGRESS MAJORITY 462

LETTER TO GLEBOV (V. A. NOSKOV) 464

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK. *Reply by N. Lenin to Rosa Luxemburg* 472

AN OBLIGING LIBERAL. 484

PREFACE TO N. SHAKHOV'S PAMPHLET *THE FIGHT FOR A CONGRESS* 488

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF A BUREAU OF MAJORITY COMMITTEES. *Draft* 489

THE ZEMSTVO CAMPAIGN AND *ISKRA*'S PLAN 495

I 499
II 502
III 507
IV 513

OUTLINE OF A TALK ON THE SITUATION WITHIN THE PARTY. *Outline of My Talk* 519

A LETTER TO THE COMRADES (*With Reference to the Forthcoming Publication of the Organ of the Party Majority*) 521

STATEMENT AND DOCUMENTS ON THE BREAK OF THE CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS WITH THE PARTY 527

Appendix 534

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF AN ORGANISING COMMITTEE AND THE CONVENING OF THE THIRD REGULAR CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 538

Notes 541

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology 575

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Account of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.". 1903 17

First page of the manuscript of the "Dissenting Opinion Recorded by the Representatives of the Central Committee in the Party Council". January 17 (30), 1904. 149

Cover of the original edition of *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. 1904 200-201

Page 71 of the manuscript of *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. 1904 251

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Announcement of the Formation of a Bureau of Majority Committees". 1904 491

Manuscript of the "Outline of a Talk on the Situation Within the Party". 1904 517

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
8

January – July 1905

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 15

THE AUTOCRACY AND THE PROLETARIAT 17

GOOD DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROLETARIANS AND POOR ARGUMENTS OF CERTAIN INTELLECTUALS 29

TIME TO CALL A HALT! 35

CONFERENCES OF THE COMMITTEES 40

THE NEW RUSSIAN LOAN 41

TO A. A. BOGDANOV 43

THE FALL OF PORT ARTHUR 47

FINE WORDS BUTTER NO PARSNIPS 56

A LETTER TO THE ZURICH GROUP OF BOLSHEVIKS 63

A LETTER TO Y. D. STASOVA AND TO THE OTHER COMRADES IN PRISON IN MOSCOW 66

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA 71

WORKING-CLASS AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY 72

FROM NARODISM TO MARXISM. *Article One* 83

THE ST. PETERSBURG STRIKE 90

OUR TARTUFFES 94

THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA 97

REVOLUTIONARY DAYS 101

1. What is Happening in Russia? 103
2. Father Gapon 105
3. The Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle 107
4. Supplement to the Article "The Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle" 110
5. "Our Father the Tsar" and the Barricades 111
6. The First Steps 114
7. The Eve of Bloody Sunday 118
8. The Number of Killed or Wounded 121
9. The Battles on the Barricades 122

THE TSARIST PEACE 124

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE SPLIT IN THE R.S.D.L.P. 125

The Letter to Greulich 126

TREPOV IN THE SADDLE 132

ST. PETERSBURG AFTER JANUARY 9 136

THE FIRST LESSONS 138

A LETTER TO A. A. BOGDANOV AND S. I. GUSEV 143

TWO TACTICS 148

A MILITANT AGREEMENT FOR THE UPRISING 158

SHOULD WE ORGANISE THE REVOLUTION? 167

THE CONVENING OF THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS. From the Editors 177

FROM THE NEW-ISKRA CAMP 181

A LETTER TO THE ORGANISATIONS IN RUSSIA 182

GENERAL PLAN OF THE THIRD CONGRESS DECISIONS 184

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 191

1. Resolution on the Disruptive Behaviour of the Mensheviks, or New-Iskrists 193
2. Resolution on Plekhanov's Conduct During the Party Crisis 194

3. Resolution on the Theoretical Position of the New-Iskrists 195

4. Resolution on the Relations Between Workers and Intellectuals in the Social-Democratic Party 196

MODIFICATION OF THE CLAUSE IN THE RULES CONCERNING THE CENTRES 197

QUESTIONNAIRE. *For the Third Congress of the Party* 200

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *MEMORANDUM OF POLICE DEPARTMENT SUPERINTENDENT LOPUKHIN* 202

PLAN OF A LECTURE ON THE COMMUNE 206

NEW TASKS AND NEW FORCES 211

OSVOBOZHDENIYE-ISTS AND NEW-ISKRISTS, MONARCHISTS AND GIRONDISTS 221

EVASIONS WITHOUT END 223

WHOM ARE THEY TRYING TO FOOL? 225

THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATS 228

THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTRY 231

STREET FIGHTING. (*The Advice of a General of the Commune*) 237

THE FIRST STEP 239

ON THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME 245

ON OUR AGRARIAN PROGRAMME. (*A Letter to the Third Congress*) 246

WHAT THE BONAPARTISTS ARE UP TO 252

A REVOLUTION OF THE 1789 OR THE 1848 TYPE? 257

TO THE PARTY 260

THE SECOND STEP 262

EUROPEAN CAPITAL AND THE AUTOCRACY 267

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 275

I 277

II 281

III 286

IV 288

THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTRY 293

GRAFT: A FRANCO-RUSSIAN CUSTOM 304

THE GUILTY BLAMING THE INNOCENT 306

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF THE LIBERALS 315

MARX ON THE AMERICAN "GENERAL REDISTRIBUTION". . . . 323

THE COUNCIL IS CAUGHT OUT 330

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE PLEKHANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 335

CONCERNING THE THIRD CONGRESS 344

PLAN FOR A MAY DAY LEAFLET 346

THE FIRST OF MAY 348

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MARKET-PLACE 352

FORTNIGHTLY REPORTS OF THE PARTY ORGANISATIONS . . . 357

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P., April 12 (25)-April 27 (May 10), 1905 359

1. SPEECH ON THE VALIDITY OF THE CONGRESS. *APRIL 13 (26)* 363
2. SPEECH ON THE QUALIFIEDNESS OF THE KAZAN AND KUBAN COMMITTEES *APRIL 14 (27)* 365
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TOWARDS THE ARMED UPRISING 368
4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ARMED UPRISING 369
5. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED UPRISING. *APRIL 15 (28)* 370
6. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE ARMED UPRISING. *APRIL 16 (29)* 371
7. RESOLUTION ON THE ARMED UPRISING 373
8. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT'S TACTICS ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION. *APRIL 18 (MAY 1)* 375

9. ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON THE EVE AND AT THE MOMENT OF THE REVOLUTION 376

10. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF OPEN POLITICAL ACTION BY THE R.S.D.L.P. 377

11. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 379

12. ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 381

13. REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. *APRIL 18* (*MAY 1*) 382

14. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 396

15. SPEECH ON THE AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. *APRIL 19* (*MAY 2*) 398

16. REPORT ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE SUPPORT OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT. *APRIL 19* (*MAY 2*) 400

17. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE SUPPORT OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT. 405

18. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS WITHIN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS. *APRIL 20* (*MAY 3*) 407

19. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS WITHIN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS 409

20. REMARK DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS WITHIN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS. *APRIL 22* (*MAY 5*) 411

21. SPEECH ON THE PROCEDURE OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS WITHIN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS. *APRIL 23* (*MAY 6*) 412

22. SPEECH DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE PARTY RULES. *APRIL 21* (*MAY 4*). 413

23. SPEECH ON THE WORDING OF CLAUSE 9 OF THE PARTY RULES. *APRIL 21* (*MAY 4*) 415

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

24. SPEECH ON AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOCIALISTS-REVOLUTIONARIES. *APRIL 23* (*MAY 6*) 416

25. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *APRIL 25* (*MAY 8*) 422

26. RESOLUTION ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS 423

27. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE EVENTS IN THE CAUCASUS 424

POLITICAL SOPHISMS 425

REPORT ON THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 433

HOW THE CONGRESS WAS CONSTITUTED 440

THE THIRD CONGRESS 442

VICTORIOUS REVOLUTION. 450

ON CONFOUNDING POLITICS WITH PEDAGOGICS 452

A LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 456

THE ADVICE OF THE CONSERVATIVE BOURGEOISIE 457

ON THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 461

Article One. Plekhanov's Reference to History 463

Article Two. Only From Below, or From Above As Well As From Below 474

DEBACLE 482

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND LIBERAL BROKERAGE . . . 486

TO THE JEWISH WORKERS 495

A NEW REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' ASSOCIATION 499

THE DEMOCRATIC TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT 511

THE FIRST STEPS OF BOURGEOIS BETRAYAL 519

"REVOLUTIONARIES" IN KID GLOVES 526

OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE *LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG* 531

SKETCH OF A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT . . 534

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE SERVILITY OF THE BOURGEOISIE 537

THIRD STEP BACK 544

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 555

THREE CONSTITUTIONS OR THREE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT 557

THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 560

THE RUSSIAN TSAR SEEKS THE PROTECTION OF THE TURKISH SULTAN AGAINST HIS PEOPLE 569

THE BOURGEOISIE BARGAINS WITH THE AUTOCRACY, THE AUTOCRACY BARGAINS WITH THE BOURGEOISIE 574

Notes 577

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 599

ILLUSTRATIONS

Front page of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*, No. 1, January 4, 1905 (December 22, 1904), with Lenin's article "The Autocracy and the Proletariat" 19

First page of Lenin's manuscript "New Tasks and New Forces", 1905 209

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet *The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry*. Published by the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P., 1905 295

Cover of the book *The Third Regular Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Full Text of the Proceedings*. Published by the C.C. Geneva, 1905 361

Front page of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*, No. 1, May 27 (14), 1905, with Lenin's article "Report on the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" and the main resolutions of the Congress 435

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
9

June–November 1905

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1905

TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION. 15

Preface 17
1. An Urgent Political Question 21
2. What Can We Learn From the Resolution of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. on a Provisional Revolutionary Government? 24
3. What Is Meant by "the Revolution's Decisive Victory Over Tsarism"? 32
4. The Abolition of the Monarchy. The Republic 38
5. How Should "the Revolution Be Advanced"? 44
6. Whence Is the Proletariat Threatened with the Danger of Finding Itself with Its Hands Tied in the Struggle Against the Inconsistent Bourgeoisie? 48
7. The Tactics of "Eliminating the Conservatives From the Government" 61
8. The *Osvobozhdeniye* and New-*Iskra* Trends 65
9. What Is Meant by Being a Party of Extreme Opposition in Time of Revolution? 74
10. "Revolutionary Communes" and the Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry 77
11. A Cursory Comparison Between Several of the Resolutions of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and Those of the "Conference" 88
12. Will the Sweep of the Democratic Revolution Be Diminished If the Bourgeoisie Recoils From It? 92
13. Conclusion. Dare We Win? 104

Epilogue. Once Again the *Osvobozhdeniye* Trend, Once Again the New-*Iskra* Trend 115
I. Why Do Bourgeois Liberal Realists Praise Social-Democratic "Realists"? 115
II. Comrade Martynov Again Gives "Profundity" to the Question 122
III. The Vulgar Bourgeois and the Marxist View on Dictatorship 130

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH TO THE ARTICLE "THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP" 141

TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, BRUSSELS 142

REVOLUTION TEACHES 146

WRATHFUL IMPOTENCE 156

ORIGINAL VARIANT OF THE PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *WORKERS ON THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY* 161

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *WORKERS ON THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY* 163

WHILE THE PROLETARIAT IS DOING THE FIGHTING THE BOURGEOISIE IS STEALING TOWARDS POWER 169

THE BOYCOTT OF THE BULYGIN DUMA, AND INSURRECTION 179

NOTE ON A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFERENCE OF R.S.D.L.P. ORGANISATIONS ABROAD 188

NOTE ON M. N. POKROVSKY'S ARTICLE "THE PROFESSIONAL INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS" 189

REPLY FROM THE *PROLETARY* EDITORIAL BOARD TO QUESTIONS PUT BY COMRADE "WORKER" 190

"ONENESS OF THE TSAR AND THE PEOPLE, AND OF THE PEOPLE AND THE TSAR" 191

THE BLACK HUNDREDS AND THE ORGANISATION OF AN UPRISING 200

EDITORIAL EPILOGUE TO THE ARTICLE AND THE THIRD CONGRESS ON TRIAL BEFORE THE CAUCASIAN MENSHEVIKS" 205

ARE THE ZEMSTVO "LIBERALS" ALREADY TURNING BACK? 206

THE WORKING CLASS AND REVOLUTION 207

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET *THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS* 209

NOTE ON P. NIKOLAYEV'S PAMPHLET *THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA* 211

IN THE WAKE OF THE MONARCHIST BOURGEOISIE, OR IN THE VAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY? 212

A MOST LUCID EXPOSITION OF A MOST CONFUSED PLAN . . . 224

KEEPING INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY INFORMED OF OUR PARTY AFFAIRS 227

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE "RUSSIA'S FINANCES AND THE REVOLUTION" 229

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PEASANT MOVEMENT 230

WHAT OUR LIBERAL BOURGEOIS WANT, AND WHAT THEY FEAR 240

THE THEORY OF SPONTANEOUS GENERATION 246

LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 252

FRIENDS MEET 253

ARGUE ABOUT TACTICS, BUT GIVE CLEAR SLOGANS! 262

What Is the Advice the Social-Democrats Are Giving the Proletariat with Reference to the State Duma? 263

PLAYING AT PARLIAMENTARIANISM 265

THE LIBERAL UNIONS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 281

FROM THE DEFENSIVE TO THE OFFENSIVE 283

ON THE CURRENT MOMENT 286

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 288

THE JENA CONGRESS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY 290

NO FALSEHOOD! OUR STRENGTH LIES IN STATING THE TRUTH! *Letter to the Editorial Board* 295

ON THE SO-CALLED ARMENIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' ORGANISATION 300

THE ZEMSTVO CONGRESS 301

SOCIALISM AND THE PEASANTRY 307

A REPLETE BOURGEOISIE AND A CRAVING BOURGEOISIE . . . 316

THE LANDLORDS ON THE BOYCOTT OF THE DUMA 323

ON THE QUESTION OF PARTY UNITY 327

AN IRATE REPLY 329

A NEW MENSHEVIK CONFERENCE 330

REPRESENTATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 332

TALKS WITH OUR READERS 335

DAYS OF BLOODSHED IN MOSCOW 336

THE BOURGEOISIE AWAKENED FROM ITS SLUMBER. *Subject for an Article* 342

TO THE COMBAT COMMITTEE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE 344

THE POLITICAL STRIKE AND THE STREET FIGHTING IN MOSCOW 347

THE LATEST IN *ISKRA* TACTICS, OR MOCK ELECTIONS AS A NEW INCENTIVE TO AN UPRISING 356

NOTE TO M. BORISOV'S ARTICLE "ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE TASKS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY" 374

ON THE DEATH OF TRUBETSKOI 375

THE LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW EVENTS 376

"THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT" 388

THE YOUTH ABROAD AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 389

A LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 390

THE ALL-RUSSIA POLITICAL STRIKE 392

THE FIRST RESULTS OF THE POLITICAL ALIGNMENT 396

THE HYSTERICS OF THE DEFEATED 405

REVOLUTIONARY RIGA'S ULTIMATUM 408

THE PLANS OF A BUFFOON MINISTER 410

THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA 411

NOTES ON "THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS" 413

AN EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES 414

A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SWEETHEART 416

ON P. B. AXELROD'S PAMPHLET *THE PEOPLE'S DUMA AND A WORKERS' CONGRESS*. *Analysis of the Pamphlet* 417

TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARY ARMY CONTINGENTS 420

WHAT THE LIBERALS EXPECT OF THE DUMA 425

THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION 427

THE LATEST NEWS 435

NIKOLAI ERNESTOVICH BAUMAN. 436

PETTY-BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM 438

THE DENOUEMENT IS AT HAND 447

INSERT TO V. KALININ'S ARTICLE "THE PEASANT CONGRESS" 455

BETWEEN TWO BATTLES 457

Notes 467

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 493

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. 1905 16-17

Page 157 of Lenin's manuscript *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. 1905 101

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Socialism and the Peasantry". 1905 304-305

Front page of the newspaper *Borba Proletariata*, No. 2, with Lenin's article "The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat". 1905 385

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
10

November 1905 – June 1906

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 15

1905

OUR TASKS AND THE SOVIET OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES. *A Letter to the Editor* 17

THE REORGANISATION OF THE PARTY 29

I 29
II 33
III 37

THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTRY 40

PARTY ORGANISATION AND PARTY LITERATURE 44

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG SOVIET OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES ON MEASURES FOR COUNTERACTING THE LOCK-OUT ADOPTED ON NOVEMBER 14 (27), 1905 50

THE PROVOCATION THAT FAILED 52

THE ARMED FORCES AND THE REVOLUTION 54

THE SCALES ARE WAVERING 58

LEARN FROM THE ENEMY 60

REVOLUTIONARY OFFICE ROUTINE AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTION 62

THE DYING AUTOCRACY AND NEW ORGANS OF POPULAR RULE 66

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM 71

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND NON-PARTY REVOLUTIONISM 75

I 75
II 78

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION 83

RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION ADOPTED BY THE "MAJORITY" CONFERENCE AT TAMMERFORS, *December 12-17 (25-30), 1905* 88

THE STAGES, THE TREND, AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION 91

1906

THE WORKERS' PARTY AND ITS TASKS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION 93

SHOULD WE BOYCOTT THE STATE DUMA? *The Platform of the "Majority"* 97

THE STATE DUMA AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TACTICS 101

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RUSSIA AND THE TACTICS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY 112

THE ST. PETERSBURG CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *February 11 (24), 1906* 120

STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE VALIDITY OF THE CREDENTIALS OF THE DELEGATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE FROM THE OKRUZHNOI AND VYBORG DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS 120

RESOLUTION AGAINST MARTOV'S PROPOSAL TO WITHDRAW THE REPORT OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE 121

ARGUMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 122

PROPOSAL ON THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE REPORT . . 122

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSAL 122

COMMENT ON THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE TACTICS OF BOYCOTT 122

THE ST. PETERSBURG CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (II). *Late February (early March) 1906* 123

STATEMENTS IN DEFENCE OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE TACTICS OF BOYCOTT 123

OBJECTIONS TO THE AMENDMENTS TO POINTS 3 AND 6 OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION 124

STATEMENTS DURING THE DEBATE ON POINTS 7 AND 8 OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION 125

WRITTEN STATEMENT TO THE CONFERENCE BUREAU 126

RESOLUTION ON THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE BOYCOTT TACTICS 126

TO ALL WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE CITY OF ST. PETERSBURG AND VICINITY 127

RESOLUTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE TACTICS OF BOYCOTT 131

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT 135

I 135
II 138
III 142

A TACTICAL PLATFORM FOR THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *Draft Resolutions for the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* 147

THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION . . . 150

ARMED UPRISING 151

FIGHTING GUERRILLA OPERATIONS 153

THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL ORGANS OF REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY 154

SOVIETS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES 156

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES 157

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES 159

THE TRADE UNIONS 160

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE DUMA 161

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION 163

REVISION OF THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF THE WORKERS' PARTY 165

I. A Brief Historical Survey of the Evolution of Russian Social-Democratic Views on the Agrarian Question 169
II. Four Trends Among Social-Democrats on the Question of the Agrarian Programme 174
III. Comrade Maslov's Principal Mistake 184
IV. The Objects of Our Agrarian Programme 189
V. Draft Agrarian Programme 194

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF K. KAUTSKY'S PAMPHLET *SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY WIPED OUT!* 196

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

THE VICTORY OF THE CADETS AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS PARTY 199

I. What Was the Objective Significance of Our Participation in the Duma Elections? 201
II. The Social and Political Significance of the First Elections 210
III. What Is the Party of People's Freedom? 214
IV. The Role and Significance of a Cadet Duma 222
V. A Sample of Cadet Smugness 238
Digression. A Popular Talk with Cadet Publicists and Learned Professors 242
VI. Conclusion 270

THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 10 (23)-April 25 (May 8), 1906 277

1. SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION 279

2. SPEECH IN REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE CLASS TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT 289

3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE STATE DUMA SUBMITTED TO THE UNITY CONGRESS 292

4. CO-REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE DUMA 294

5. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF ARMED UPRISING 299

6. STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF MURATOV'S (MOROZOV'S) AMENDMENT CONCERNING A PARLIAMENTARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP 302

7. DISSENTING OPINION ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 303

8. RESOLUTION ON THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE TO THE CONGRESS 305

9. STATEMENT ON THE NECESSITY OF THE CONGRESS APPROVING THE MINUTES 306

10. WRITTEN STATEMENT AT THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS 307

11. WRITTEN STATEMENT AT THE TWENTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE CONGRESS 308

12. WRITTEN STATEMENTS AT THE TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE CONGRESS 309

AN APPEAL TO THE PARTY BY DELEGATES TO THE UNITY CONGRESS WHO BELONGED TO THE FORMER "BOLSHEVIK" GROUP 310

REPORT ON THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *A Letter to the St. Petersburg Workers* 317

I. The Composition of the Congress 322
II. Election of the Bureau. The Congress Agenda . . 326
III. The Agrarian Question 328
IV. Appraisal of the Revolutionary Situation and of the Class Tasks of the Proletariat 348
V. Attitude Towards the State Duma 355
VI. Armed Uprising 364
VII. The End of the Congress. 370
VIII. The Congress Summed Up 376
Appendix. Material for Appraising the Work of the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. 382

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND THE FIGHT FOR POWER 383

A NEW UPSWING 386

THE CONGRESS SUMMED UP 392

THE DUMA AND THE PEOPLE 396

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 400

THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ON THE STATE DUMA 401

THE WORKERS' GROUP IN THE STATE DUMA 402

THE QUESTION OF ORGANISATION 406

SPEECH AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD IN COUNTESS PANINA'S PALACE, MAY 9 (22), 1906 407

I. Brief Report in *Nevskaya Gazeta* 407
II. Brief Report in *Volna* 408

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE PUBLIC MEETING IN COUNTESS PANINA'S PALACE, MAY 9 (22), 1906 409

THE PEASANT, OR "TRUDOVIK", GROUP AND THE R.S.D.L.P. . . 410

THE LAND QUESTION IN THE DUMA 414

RESOLUTION AND REVOLUTION 418

NEITHER LAND NOR FREEDOM 421

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ELECTION VICTORY IN TIFLIS 423

GOVERNMENT, DUMA AND PEOPLE 426

THE CADETS ARE PREVENTING THE DUMA FROM APPEALING TO THE PEOPLE 430

THEY WON'T EVEN BARGAIN! 432

THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS' DEPUTIES IN THE STATE DUMA 434

THE LAND QUESTION AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM 436

THE SORRY GOREMYKINS, THE OCTOBRISTS AND THE CADETS . . 440

FREEDOM TO CRITICISE AND UNITY OF ACTION. 442

BAD ADVICE 444

TALK AND RUMOURS ABOUT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE STATE DUMA 450

KAUTSKY ON THE STATE DUMA 452

CADETS, TRUDOVIKS AND THE WORKERS' PARTY 455

HOW COMRADE PLEKHANOV ARGUES ABOUT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TACTICS 460

RESOLUTION (II) OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE DUMA 481

THE SLOGAN OF A DUMA MINISTRY 483

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION. 485

THE TACTICS OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE TASKS OF THE MOMENT 490

THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ON THE CADETS 494

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 499

LET THE WORKERS DECIDE 500

"DON'T GAZE UP, GAZE DOWN!" 505

THE REACTION IS TAKING TO ARMS 508

RESOLUTION (III) OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE QUESTION OF A DUMA MINISTRY 514

Notes 517

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology 559

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies", November 1905 16-17

First page of Lenin's manuscript "The Stages, the Trend, and the Prospects of the Revolution", 1905 89

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet *Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party*, 1906 167

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet *Report on the Unity Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*, 1906 319

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
11

June 1906–January 1907

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1972

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1906

ON THE EVE 15

WAVERING ABOVE, DETERMINATION BELOW 17

UNITY! 20

THE DUMA AND THE PEOPLE 24

THE FIGHT FOR POWER AND THE FIGHT FOR SOPS. 27

THE DECLARATION OF OUR GROUP IN THE DUMA 32

"WHAT THOU DOEST, DO QUICKLY". 38

USEFUL POLEMICS 40

FAMINE RELIEF AND THE TACTICS OF THE DUMA 43

NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE CABINET 48

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 50

WHO IS FOR ALLIANCES WITH THE CADETS? 53

THE CADET DUMA GRANTS MONEY TO THE POGROM-MONGERS' GOVERNMENT 60

YES-MEN OF THE CADETS 64

ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE DUMA CABINET 69

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 74

THE UNSOUND ARGUMENTS OF THE "NON-PARTY" BOYCOTTERS 77

THE BOURGEOISIE'S CENSURES AND THE PROLETARIAT'S CALL FOR ACTION 83

THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE 85

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 88

ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES AND CHOICE OF THE MOMENT FOR STRUGGLE 90

AMONG NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS 94

A BOLD ASSAULT AND A TIMID DEFENCE 96

THE PARTIES IN THE DUMA AND THE PEOPLE 101

CONSPIRACIES OF REACTION AND THREATS OF THE POGROM-MONGERS 105

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE DUMA AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT 109

I 111
II 116
III 118
IV 124
V 129
VI 130

DISPATCH OF A DELEGATION TO SVEABORG. *Resolution of the Executive Commission of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.* 132

BEFORE THE STORM. 135

THE BOYCOTT 141

THE POLITICAL CRISIS AND THE BANKRUPTCY OF OPPORTU-NIST TACTICS 150

I 150
II 151
III 154
IV 160
V 163

THE EVENTS OF THE DAY 167

A "LABOUR CONGRESS" 170

LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW UPRISING 171

VACILLATING TACTICS 179

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AND THE COMING STRUGGLE . . . 184

HANDS OFF! 189

THE GUERRILLA ACTION OF THE POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY . . . 194

UNION OF THE BUND WITH THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 195

SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY MENSHEVIKS 197

A NEW COUP D'ETAT IN PREPARATION 207

GUERRILLA WARFARE 213

I 213
II 215
III 216
IV 222

THE QUESTION OF GUERRILLA WARFARE 224

AN ATTEMPT AT A CLASSIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF RUSSIA 225

NOTES ON *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT*, No. 1 232

THE RUSSIAN RADICAL IS WISE AFTER THE EVENT 236

THE RESULTS OF THE CADET CONGRESS 241

PHILISTINISM IN REVOLUTIONARY CIRCLES 246

MARTOV'S AND CHEREVANIN'S PRONOUNCEMENTS IN THE BOURGEOIS PRESS 257

Lies Spread by L. Martov Through the Columns of the Bourgeois Press 257
Martov and Cherevanin 260
Social-Democrats and Bourgeois Newspapers 262

ON CONVENING AN EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS 264

HOW HISTORY IS WRITTEN 267

POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE "THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN" 271

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND ELECTORAL AGREEMENTS 275

I 277
II 279
III 281
IV 284
V 287
VI 290
VII 295

A DISSENTING OPINION RECORDED AT THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY BY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES FROM POLAND, THE LETTISH TERRITORY, ST. PETERSBURG, MOSCOW, THE CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL REGION AND THE VOLGA AREA . . . 299

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

DRAFT ELECTION ADDRESS 302
BLOCS WITH THE CADETS 307
PARTY DISCIPLINE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PRO-CADET SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 320
HOW THE ARMAVIR SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ARE CONDUCTING THEIR ELECTION CAMPAIGN 324
WHOM TO ELECT TO THE STATE DUMA 326
What Are the Three Chief Parties?. 326
Whose Interests Do the Three Chief Parties Defend? . . . 326
What Do the Three Chief Parties Strive For? 327
What Kind of Freedom Do the Three Chief Parties Want to Give the People? 327
How Do the Three Chief Parties Regard the Peasants' Demand for Land? 328
What Can the Three Chief Parties Achieve if Their Whole Struggle is Successful? 328
Social-Democrats and the Trudovik Parties 329
Which Parties Claim to Defend the Interests of the Working Class and All Working People? 329
Whose Interests Do These Parties Actually Defend? 330
How Steadfast Are These Parties in the Great World-wide Struggle of Labour Against Capital 330
What Can These Parties Achieve by Completely Fulfilling Their Ultimate Aims? 330
What Kind of Freedom for the People Are These Parties Trying to Achieve in the Present Revolution? 331
What Is the Attitude of These Parties to the Peasants' Demand for Land? 331
THE NEW SENATE INTERPRETATION 332
THE CRISIS OF MENSHEVISM 341
I 341
II 348
III 353
IV 359
THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS ALLY IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 365
CONCERNING AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE ORGAN OF THE BUND 376
THE GOVERNMENT'S FALSIFICATION OF THE DUMA AND THE TASKS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 383
THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS 389

THE WORKING-CLASS PARTY'S TASKS AND THE PEASANTRY . . 396

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF W. LIEBKNECHT'S PAMPHLET: *NO COMPROMISES, NO ELECTORAL AGREEMENTS* 401

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF K. KAUTSKY'S PAMPHLET: *THE DRIVING FORCES AND PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION* 408

THE ATTITUDE OF THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES AND OF THE WORKERS' PARTY TO THE DUMA ELECTION 414

1907

PLEKHANOV AND VASILYEV 419

THE WORKERS' PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ST. PETERSBURG 426

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE DUMA ELECTION 431

The Social-Democrats and the Elections in St. Petersburg . . . 433

I. The Conditions Under Which the Social-Democratic Conference Was Convened, and Its Composition 433
II. The Question of Dividing the Conference 441
III. What Is the Significance of the Menshevik Walk-out at the Conference? 444
IV. The Political Parties and the Forthcoming Elections in St. Petersburg 450
Postscript 453

"WHEN YOU HEAR THE JUDGEMENT OF A FOOL...," *From the Notes of a Social-Democratic Publicist* 456

Notes 475

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 511

ILLUSTRATIONS

Front page of *Ekho*, No. 3, June 24, 1906, with Lenin's leading article "Who Is for Alliances with the Cadets?" 55

Front page of *Proletary*, No. 1, August 21, 1906. Lenin's articles "Before the Storm", "The Boycott" and others were published in this issue 133

Front page of the weekly *Ternii Truda*, No. 1, December 24, 1906, which carried Lenin's leading article "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class" 391

First page of Lenin's manuscript "The Working Class Party's Tasks and the Peasantry". 1906 396-97

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 12

January – June 1907

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1907

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ST. PETERSBURG 15

DESCENDING RUNG BY RUNG 24

THE PROTEST OF THE THIRTY-ONE MENSHEVIKS 29

THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS AND THE HYPOCRISY OF THE THIRTY-ONE MENSHEVIKS 33

HOW TO VOTE IN THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS. *Is There a Danger of the Black Hundreds Winning the St. Petersburg Elections?* 45

THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS AND THE CRISIS OF OPPORTUNISM 57

THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG . . 62

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN S.D.'s AND S.R.'s IN THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG 70

HOW TO VOTE IN THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS. *Who Benefits from the Fables About the Black-Hundred Danger?* 75

THE MOSCOW ELECTIONS—PRELIMINARY RESULTS 81

A POLITICAL LIDVALIAD 83

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN ST. PETERSBURG 86

ON THE REPORT OF THE MOSCOW DISTRICT OF ST. PETERSBURG CONCERNING THE ELECTIONS TO THE SECOND DUMA 93

SOME FIGURES ON THE ELECTIONS IN THE WORKER CURIA IN SOUTH RUSSIA 95

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS 98

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF KARL MARX'S LETTERS TO Dr. KUGELMANN 104

THE SECOND DUMA AND THE SECOND REVOLUTIONARY WAVE 113

THE ELECTION RESULTS IN ST. PETERSBURG 119

REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION ON THE QUESTION OF THE DUMA CAMPAIGN AND DUMA TACTICS. *Brief Newspaper Report* 127

Concluding Speech 131

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P 133

1. The Present Stage in the Democratic Revolution 135
2. The Attitude to the Bourgeois Parties 136
3. The Class Tasks of the Proletariat at the Present Stage of the Democratic Revolution 138
4. The Tactics of the Social-Democrats in the State Duma 140
5. The Intensification of Mass Destitution and of the Economic Struggle 142
6. Non-Party Workers' Organisations and the Anarcho-Syndicalist Trend Among the Proletariat 142

TACTICS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. *Interview Granted to a Special Correspondent of "L'Humanité" on February 17 (March 2), 1907* 145

THE OPENING OF THE SECOND STATE DUMA 152

THE SECOND DUMA AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT . . . 156

THE FIRST IMPORTANT STEP 161

PETTY-BOURGEOIS TACTICS 165

WHAT THE SPLITTERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE COMING SPLIT 170

ON THE TACTICS OF OPPORTUNISM 173

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE 179

THE IMMINENT DISSOLUTION OF THE DUMA AND QUESTIONS OF TACTICS 184

CADETS AND TRUDOVIKS 189

APROPOS OF STOLYPIN'S DECLARATION. *Draft Manifesto* 193

THE ELECTIONS TO THE DUMA AND THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 196

THE PLATFORM OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY . . . 208

I 208

II 213

HOW NOT TO WRITE RESOLUTIONS 219

Instead of an Afterword 240

A NOTE ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE ESTONIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 243

THE TERMS OF THE DEAL 244

THE MENSHEVIK TACTICAL PLATFORM 249

DRAFT FOR A SPEECH ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN THE SECOND STATE DUMA 267

FINE WORDS—FOUL DEEDS 300

THE DUMA AND THE APPROVAL OF THE BUDGET 306

THE CUCKOO PRAISES THE ROOSTER 312

INTELLECTUALIST WARRIORS AGAINST DOMINATION BY THE INTELLIGENTSIA 316

ANGRY EMBARRASSMENT. *The Question of the Labour Congress* 320

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION 333

AN ANAEMIC DUMA OR AN ANAEMIC PETTY BOURGEOISIE . . . 337

BANALITY TRIUMPHANT, OR S.R's APE THE CADETS 341

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP AND APRIL 3 IN THE DUMA . . 345

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 349

I 349

II 353

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF *LETTERS BY JOHANNES BECKER, JOSEPH DIETZGEN, FREDERICK ENGELS, KARL MARX, AND OTHERS TO FRIEDRICH SORGE AND OTHERS* 359

How the Classics Estimated Intellectualist Opportunism in Social-Democracy 371

THE DUMA AND THE RUSSIAN LIBERALS 379

FRANZ MEHRING ON THE SECOND DUMA 383

German Liberalism and the Russian Duma 384

LARIN AND KHRUSTALEV 390

REORGANISATION AND THE END OF THE SPLIT IN ST. PETERSBURG. 395

ON THE QUESTION OF A NATION-WIDE REVOLUTION. 404

APROPOS OF THE MINUTES OF THE NOVEMBER MILITARY AND COMBAT CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. 409

REPORT TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE ST. PETERSBURG SPLIT AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE PARTY TRIBUNAL ENSUING THEREFROM 419

I. Speech for the Defence (or for the Prosecution of the Menshevik Section of the Central Committee) Delivered it the Party Tribunal 421

II. A Brief Summary of the Real History of the St. Petersburg Split 432

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 30-May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907 437

1. SPEECH DURING THE DISCUSSION ON THE CONGRESS AGENDA, MAY 2 (15) 439

2. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MAY 4 (17) 442

3. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DUMA GROUP, MAY 8 (21) 448

4. STATEMENT OF FACT, MAY 10 (23) 453

5. STATEMENT OF MAY 11 (24) 455

6. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 12 (25) 456

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE REPORT ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 14 (27) 469

8. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE POLISH DRAFT RESOLUTION ON BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 15 (28) 475

9. OBJECTIONS TO TROTSKY'S AMENDMENTS TO THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS. MAY 15-16 (28-29) 479

10. OBJECTIONS TO MARTOV'S AMENDMENTS TO THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TO BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 16 (29) 480

11. OBJECTIONS TO MARTYNOV'S AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES, MAY 16 (29) 482

12. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FORMED TO DRAFT A RESOLUTION ON THE STATE DUMA, MAY 18 (31). 484

13. REMARKS DURING THE DISCUSSION ON THE RE-VOTING OF THOSE ELECTED TO THE C.C., MAY 19 (JUNE 1). 488

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS PARTIES 489

I 490

II 500

III 506

Notes 511

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Chronology 555

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of the newspaper *Zreniye*, No. 1, 1907 47

First page of the newspaper *Rabochy*, No. 2, 1907 157

Facsimile of the first page of Lenin's manuscript "Draft for a Speech on the Agrarian Question in the Second State Duma", 1907 265

First page of the newspaper *Nashe Ekho*, No. 2, 1907 307

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
13

June 1907–April 1908

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1978

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1907

AGAINST BOYCOTT. *Notes of a Social-Democratic Publicist* 15
I 18
II 24
III 27
IV 33
V 36
VI 44
VII 48
IN MEMORY OF COUNT HEYDEN. *What Are Our Non-Party "Democrats" Teaching the People?* 50
THESES OF A REPORT MADE AT THE ST. PETERSBURG CITY CONFERENCE OF JULY 8 ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY TO THE THIRD DUMA 58
THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ("SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN") 60
1. Draft Resolution on Participation in the Elections to the Third Duma 60
2. Outline of a Draft Resolution on the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions 61
NOTES OF A PUBLICIST 62
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART 75
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART 82
PREFACE TO THE COLLECTION *TWELVE YEARS* 94
REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION 114

THE THIRD DUMA 123

ON PLEKHANOV'S ARTICLE 133

CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *From a Newspaper Report* 135

1. Report on the Third State Duma 135
2. Resolution on the Third State Duma 138
3. Report on the Participation of Social-Democrats in the Bourgeois Press 140

THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (THIRD ALL-RUSSIAN". *From a Newspaper Report* 141

1. Report on the Tactics of the Social-Democratic Group in the Third State Duma 141
2. Resolution on the Tactics of the Social-Democratic Group in the Third State Duma 144

THE PREPARATION OF A "DISGUSTING ORGY" 147

BUT WHO ARE THE JUDGES? 153

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET BY VOINOV (A. V. LUNACHARSKY) ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY TOWARDS THE TRADE UNIONS 161

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE "CRITICS OF MARX" 169

X. The "Work" of the German Bulgakov, E. David 171
XI. Livestock in Small and Large Farms 182
XII. The "Ideal Country" from the Standpoint of the Opponents of Marxism on the Agrarian Question. 194

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1905-1907 217

Chapter I. The Economic Basis and Nature of the Agrarian Revolution in Russia 220

1. Landownership in European Russia 220
2. What Is the Struggle About? 225
3. The Cadet Writers Obscure the Nature of the Struggle 231
4. The Economic Nature of the Agrarian Revolution and Its Ideological Cloaks 234
5. Two Types of Bourgeois Agrarian Evolution 238
6. Two Lines of Agrarian Programmes in the Revolution 243
7. Russia's Land Area. The Question of the Colonisation 247
8. Summary of the Economic Deductions of Chapter I . . . 254

Chapter II. The Agrarian Programmes of the R.S.D.L.P. and Their Test in the First Revolution 255

1. What Was the Mistake in the Previous Agrarian Programmes of Russian Social-Democracy? 255
2. The Present Agrarian Programme of the R.S.D.L.P. . . . 258
3. The Chief Argument of the Municipalisers Tested by Events 261
4. The Agrarian Programme of the Peasantry 267
5. Medieval Landownership and the Bourgeois Revolution . . 272
6. Why Had the Small Proprietors in Russia to Declare in Favour of Nationalisation? 276
7. The Peasants and the Narodniks on the Nationalisation of Allotment Land 284
8. The Mistake Made by M. Shanin and Other Advocates of Division 287

Chapter III. The Theoretical Basis of Nationalisation and of Municipalisation 294

1. What Is Nationalisation of the Land? 295
2. Pyotr Maslov Corrects Karl Marx's Rough Notes 300
3. Is It Necessary to Refute Marx in Order to Refute the Narodniks? 307
4. Is the Repudiation of Absolute Rent Connected with the Programme of Municipalisation? 311
5. Criticism of Private Landownership from the Standpoint of the Development of Capitalism 313
6. The Nationalisation of the Land and "Money" Rent . . . 316
7. Under What Conditions Can Nationalisation Be Brought About? 318
8. Does Nationalisation Mean Transition to Division? 323

Chapter IV. Political and Tactical Considerations in Questions of the Agrarian Programme 325

1. "A Guarantee Against Restoration" 325
2. Local Self-Government as a "Bulwark Against Reaction" 332
3. The Central Authority and the Consolidation of the Bourgeois State 337
4. The Scope of the Political and of the Agrarian Revolutions 344
5. A Peasant Revolution Without the Conquest of Power by the Peasantry? 351
6. Is Land Nationalisation a Sufficiently Flexible Method? 355
7. Municipalisation of the Land and Municipal Socialism . . 358
8. Some Examples of the Muddle Caused by Municipalisation 363

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Chapter V. Classes and Parties in the Debate on the Agrarian Question in the Second Duma 366

1. The Rights and the Octobrists 368
2. The Cadets 374
3. The Right Peasants 380
4. The Non-Party Peasants 383
5. The Narodnik Intellectuals 388
6. The Trudovik Peasants (Narodniks) 394
7. The Socialist-Revolutionaries 400
8. The "Nationals" 405
9. The Social-Democrats 414

Conclusion 421

POSTSCRIPT 430

1908

THE DEBATE ON THE EXTENSION OF THE DUMA'S BUDGETARY POWERS 432

POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE "THE DEBATE ON THE EXTENSION OF THE DUMA'S BUDGETARY POWERS" 439

POLITICAL NOTES 440

STATEMENT OF THE EDITORS OF *PROLETARY* 447

A LETTER TO A. M. GORKY 448

THE NEW AGRARIAN POLICY 455

TRADE-UNION NEUTRALITY 460

THE HAPPENING TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL 470

LESSONS OF THE COMMUNE 475

A POLICE-PATRIOTIC DEMONSTRATION MADE TO ORDER 479

DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE LIBERALS 485

AN ESTIMATE OF MARX BY INTERNATIONAL LIBERALISM 490

Notes 495

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 535

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover of *Kalendar dlya vsekh*, 1908 containing Lenin's article "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart". Lenin's personal copy 83

The cover of the collection of Lenin's writings *Twelve Years*. . 95

The last page of Lenin's manuscript "*The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution. 1905-1907*". November-December 1907 . . . . . 428—429

The first page of V. I. Lenin's letter to A. M. Gorky dated February 25, 1908 451

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
14
1908

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 11

1908

TEN QUESTIONS TO A LECTURER 13

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy 17

Preface to the First Edition 19

Preface to the Second Edition 21

In Lieu of an Introduction. How Certain "Marxists" in 1908 and Certain Idealists in 1710 Refuted Materialism 22

Chapter One. The Theory of Knowledge of Empirio-criticism and of Dialectical Materialism. I 40

1. Sensations and Complexes of Sensations 40
2. "The Discovery of the World-Elements". 53
3. The Principal Co-ordination and "Naïve Realism". . . 67
4. Did Nature Exist Prior to Man? 75
5. Does Man Think with the Help of the Brain? 86
6. The Solipsism of Mach and Avenarius 94

Chapter Two. The Theory of Knowledge of Empirio-criticism and of Dialectical Materialism. II 98

1. The "Thing-in-Itself", or V. Chernov Refutes Frederick Engels 98
2. "Transcendence", or V. Bazarov "Revises" Engels 107

3. L. Feuerbach and J. Dietzgen on the Thing-in-Itself . 117
4. Does Objective Truth Exist?. 122
5. Absolute and Relative Truth, or the Eclecticism of Engels as Discovered by A. Bogdanov. 131
6. The Criterion of Practice in the Theory of Knowledge 138

Chapter Three. The Theory of Knowledge of Dialectical Materialism and of Empirio-criticism. III 144

1. What Is Matter? What Is Experience? 144
2. Plekhanov's Error Concerning the Concept "Experience" 151
3. Causality and Necessity in Nature. 153
4. The "Principle of Economy of Thought" and the Problem of the "Unity of the World" 169
5. Space and Time 175
6. Freedom and Necessity 187

Chapter Four. The Philosophical Idealists as Comrades-in-Arms and Successors of Empirio-criticism 194

1. The Criticism of Kantianism from the Left and from the Right 194
2. How the "Empirio-Symbolist" Yushkevich Ridiculed the "Empirio-Criticist" Chernov. 205
3. The Immanentists as Comrades-in-Arms of Mach and Avenarius 209
4. In What Direction Is Empirio-criticism Developing? . . 217
5. A. Bogdanov's "Empirio-monism" 226
6. The "Theory of Symbols" (or Hieroglyphs) and the Criticism of Helmholtz 232
7. Two Kinds of Criticism of Dühring 238
8. How Could J. Dietzgen Have Found Favour with the Reactionary Philosophers? 243

Chapter Five. The Recent Revolution in Natural Science, and Philosophical Idealism 250

1. The Crisis in Modern Physics 252
2. "Matter Has Disappeared" 258
3. Is Motion Without Matter Conceivable? 266
4. The Two Trends in Modern Physics, and English Spiritualism 274
5. The Two Trends in Modern Physics, and German Idealism. 282

6. The Two Trends in Modern Physics, and French Fideism 290
7. A Russian "Idealist Physicist" 299
8. The Essence and Significance of "Physical" Idealism . 302

Chapter Six. Empirio-criticism and Historical Materialism . . . 314

1. The Excursions of the German Empirio-criticists Into the Field of the Social Sciences. 314
2. How Bogdanov Corrects and "Develops" Marx. 322
3. Suvorov's "Foundations of Social Philosophy" 330
4. Parties in Philosophy and Philosophical Blockheads . 335
5. Ernst Haeckel and Ernst Mach 346

Conclusion 357

Supplement to Chapter Four, Section 1. From What Angle Did N. G. Chernyshevsky Criticise Kantianism? 359

Notes 363

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin (Chronology) 389

Name Index 399

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

ILLUSTRATION

Cover of the first edition of V. I. Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, 1909 16-17

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 15

March 1908 – August 1909

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1908

ON TO THE STRAIGHT ROAD 15

ON THE "NATURE" OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 22

MARXISM AND REVISIONISM 29

ON THE BEATEN TRACK! 40

A BLOC OF THE CADETS AND THE OCTOBRISTS? 48

THE ASSESSMENT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 50

CADETS OF THE SECOND GENERATION 63

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN RUSSIA TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 69

I 71
II 83
III 92
IV 106
V 118
VI 127
VII 135

SOME FEATURES OF THE PRESENT COLLAPSE 148

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. *Autoabstract* 158

INFLAMMABLE MATERIAL IN WORLD POLITICS 182

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD 189

BELLICOSE MILITARISM AND THE ANTI-MILITARIST TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 191

I 191
II 193
III 196

LEO TOLSTOY AS THE MIRROR OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 202

BRITISH AND GERMAN WORKERS DEMONSTRATE FOR PEACE . . 210

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION 213

EVENTS IN THE BALKANS AND IN PERSIA 220

MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 231

P. MASLOV IN HYSTERICS 247

SOME REMARKS ON THE "REPLY" BY P. MASLOV 255

THE ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION 267

HOW PLEKHANOV AND CO. DEFEND REVISIONISM 281

TWO LETTERS 286

THE AGRARIAN DEBATES IN THE THIRD DUMA 303

THE FIFTH (ALL-RUSSIAN) CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 21-27, 1908 (January 3-9, 1909)* 319

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PRESENT MOMENT AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY 321

2. DIRECTIVES FOR THE COMMITTEE ON QUESTIONS OF ORGANISATION 325

3. PRACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS ON VOTING FOR THE BUDGET BY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA . . . 326

First Variant 326
Second Variant 326

4. ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION ON "THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA" 328

5. STATEMENT BY THE BOLSHEVIKS. *Statement of Facts* . . 329

1909

HOW THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES SUM UP THE REVOLUTION AND HOW THE REVOLUTION HAS SUMMED THEM UP . . . 330

ON THE ROAD 345

ON THE ARTICLE "QUESTIONS OF THE DAY" 356

THE AIM OF THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE IN OUR REVOLUTION 360

I 360
II 367
III 370
IV 375
V 378

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 380

A CARICATURE OF BOLSHEVISM 383

THE "LEFTWARD SWING" OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT 395

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WORKERS' PARTY TO RELIGION 402

CLASSES AND PARTIES IN THEIR ATTITUDE TO RELIGION AND THE CHURCH. 414

CONFERENCE OF THE EXTENDED EDITORIAL BOARD OF "*PROLETARY*", *June 8-17 (21-30), 1909* 425

REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE OF THE EXTENDED EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PROLETARY* 427

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE TASKS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE PARTY, JUNE 11 (24) 436

SPEECH AND DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TASKS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS IN RELATION TO DUMA ACTIVITY 438

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE EXTENDED EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PROLETARY* 442

1. On Otzovism and Ultimatumism 442
2. The Tasks of the Bolsheviks in the Party 446
3. Agitation for a Bolshevik Congress or Bolshevik Conference Separate from the Party 449
4. The Party School Being Set Up Abroad at X— . . . 450
5. The Breakaway of Comrade Maximov 451

THE LIQUIDATION OF LIQUIDATIONISM 452

THE TSAR VISITS EUROPE AND MEMBERS OF THE BLACK-HUNDRED DUMA VISIT ENGLAND 461

M. LYADOV'S LETTER TO *PROLETARY* 467

A LETTER TO THE ORGANISERS OF THE PARTY SCHOOL ON CAPRI 468

DRAFT LETTER OF THE BOLSHEVIK CENTRE TO THE COUNCIL OF THE SCHOOL ON CAPRI 470

A LETTER TO COMRADES JULIUS, VANYA, SAVELY, IVAN, VLADIMIR, STANISLAV AND FOMA, STUDENTS AT THE CAPRI PARTY SCHOOL 472

Notes 479

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 513

ILLUSTRATIONS

Front page of the newspaper *Proletary*, No. 27, March 26 (April 8), 1908, featuring Lenin's articles "On the 'Nature' of the Russian Revolution", and "The Debate on the Extension of the Duma's Budgetary Powers" 23

The first page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution", 1908 203

Front page of the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.—the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 2, January 28 (February 10), 1909, containing Lenin's article "On the Road" 347

The first page of Lenin's manuscript "Speech on the Question of the Tasks of the Bolsheviks in the Party", June 11 (24), 1909 436-37

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
16

September 1909 – December 1910

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1909

THE LIQUIDATORS EXPOSED 15

ON THE OPEN LETTER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MOSCOW REGIONAL COMMITTEE 23

THE ELECTION IN ST. PETERSBURG. *A Comment* 24

THE FACTION OF SUPPORTERS OF OTZOVISM AND GOD-BUILDING 29

I 29
II 33
III 37
IV 43
V 49
VI 55
VII 59

ONCE MORE ON PARTYISM AND NON-PARTYISM 62

A WORD TO THE BOLSHEVIKS OF ST. PETERSBURG 65

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE "THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTION" . . . 76

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY AND OF ITS UNITY 77

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU ON THE SPLIT IN THE DUTCH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY. *From the Report in the "Bulletin" of the I.S.B.* . . . 78

THE TSAR AGAINST THE FINNISH PEOPLE 79

TO PUPILS OF THE CAPRI SCHOOL 82

A SHAMEFUL FIASCO 85

SOME SOURCES OF THE PRESENT IDEOLOGICAL DISCORD . . . 87

METHODS OF THE LIQUIDATORS AND PARTY TASKS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS 95

GOLOS SOTSIAL-DEMOKRATA AND CHEREVANIN 103

THE BOURGEOIS PRESS FABLE ABOUT THE EXPULSION OF GORKY 106

IDEOLOGICAL DECAY AND DISUNITY AMONG RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 107

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE DRAFT OF THE MAIN GROUNDS OF THE BILL ON THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKING DAY 110

LETTER TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV 117

CONCERNING VEKHI 123

I 124
II 126

THE LAST WORD OF RUSSIAN LIBERALISM 132

THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 140

1910

THE *VPERYOD* GROUP. *A Conspectus* 145

TOWARDS UNITY 147

GOLOS (*VOICE*) OF THE LIQUIDATORS AGAINST THE PARTY
Reply to *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* 156

WHAT TO FIGHT FOR? 165

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST FINLAND 171

THEY ARE NERVOUS ABOUT THE ARMY 176

PARTY UNITY ABROAD 185

ONE OF THE OBSTACLES TO PARTY UNITY 189

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 191

NOTES OF A PUBLICIST 195

I. The "Platform" of the Adherents and Defenders of Otzovism 197

II. The "Unity Crisis" in Our Party 208
1. Two Views on Unity 209
2. "The Fight on Two Fronts" and the Overcoming of Deviations. 215
3. The Terms of Unity and Sectarian Diplomacy. . 219
4. Paragraph I of the Resolution on the State of Affairs in the Party 226
5. The Significance of the December (1908) Resolutions and the Attitude of the Liquidators to Them 232
6. The Group of Independent-Legalists 238
7. Pro-Party Menshevism and Its Evaluation. 251
8. Conclusion. The Platform of the Bolsheviks. . . . 258

THE JUBILEE NUMBER OF *ZIHNA* 260

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES FROM THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION AT THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS. 265

LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 267

THE *VPERYOD* FACTION 268

THE QUESTION OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN COPENHAGEN. 275

HOW CERTAIN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS INFORM THE INTERNATIONAL ABOUT THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE R.S.D.L.P. . . . 284

ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE PUBLICATION OF *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* 289

THE LESSONS OF THE REVOLUTION 296

TWO WORLDS 305

THE DEMONSTRATION ON THE DEATH OF MUROMTSEV. *A Comment* 314

IS THIS THE TURN OF THE TIDE? 320

L. N. TOLSTOY 323

TO THE COMRADES STUDYING AT THE SCHOOL IN BOLOGNA . . 328

L. N. TOLSTOY AND THE MODERN LABOUR MOVEMENT 330

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL PRO-PARTY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS . . . 333

DIFFERENCES IN THE EUROPEAN LABOUR MOVEMENT 347

I 347

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

TOLSTOY AND THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE 353

THE BEGINNING OF DEMONSTRATIONS 355

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE? 359

IVAN VASILYEVICH BABUSHKIN *An Obituary* 361

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 365

HEROES OF "RESERVATION" 368

THE HISTORICAL MEANING OF THE INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA 374

I 374
II 380
III 384
IV 387

STRIKE STATISTICS IN RUSSIA 393

I 395
II 408

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF MODERN AGRICULTURE 423

First article 427
I. A General Picture of the Economic System of Modern Agriculture 429
II. The Real Nature of the Majority of Modern Agricultural "Farms" (Proletarian "Farms") 434
III. Peasant Farms Under Capitalism 437
IV. Labour of Women and Children in Agriculture . . . 441
V. Squandering of Labour in Small-Scale Production . . 441
VI. The Capitalist Character of the Use of Machinery in Modern Agriculture 441
VII. The Low Productivity of Labour in Small-Scale Production and Excessive Work 442

Notes 447

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 475

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. 1910 14-15

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Announcement on the Publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta*", October 1910 287

First page of *Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 1, October 30 (November 12), 1910, with Lenin's lending article "The Lessons of the Revolution" 297

First page of the newspaper *Zvezda* No. 1, 1910 345

Diagram of the number of strikers per quarter, 1910 400-401

First page of the manuscript of the article "The Capitalist System of Modern Agriculture", 1910 425

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME 17

December 1910 – April 1912

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 15

1910

LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN COLLEGIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 17

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY 23

CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM 39

1911

JUDAS TROTSKY'S BLUSH OF SHAME 45

THE CAREER OF A RUSSIAN TERRORIST 46

LEV TOLSTOI AND HIS EPOCH 49

MARXISM AND *NASHA ZARYA* 54

THOSE WHO WOULD LIQUIDATE US. *Re: Mr. Potresov and V. Bazarov*. 60

I 60
II 65
III 67
IV 72
V 77

THE CADETS ON "TWO CAMPS" AND "SENSIBLE COMPROMISE" 82

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FALL OF SERFDOM . . . 87

PAUL SINGER 92

COMMENTS. *Menshikov*, *Gromoboi*, *Izgoyev* 96

TO THE RUSSIAN COLLEGIUM OF THE C.C. 106

APROPOS OF AN ANNIVERSARY 110

"THE PEASANT REFORM" AND THE PROLETARIAN-PEASANT REVOLUTION 119

WRECKERS OF THE PARTY IN THE ROLE OF "WRECKERS OF LEGENDS". 129

THE CADETS AND THE OCTOBRISTS 134

IN MEMORY OF THE COMMUNE 139

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF STATE POWER, THE PROSPECTS AND LIQUIDATIONISM 144

POLEMICAL NOTES 164

THE MEANING OF THE CRISIS. 168

CONFERENCE OF THE BRITISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY . 173

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN A LEGALIST AND AN OPPONENT OF LIQUIDATIONISM 179

"REGRET" AND "SHAME" 189

THE MEETING OF THE C.C. MEMBERS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *May 28-June 4 (June 10-17), 1911* 195

1. LETTER TO THE MEETING OF THE C.C. MEMBERS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ABROAD 197
2. SUMMARY (PLAN) FOR REPORT BY THREE BOLSHEVIK MEMBERS OF THE C.C. TO A PRIVATE MEETING OF NINE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 200
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION DEFINING TERMS OF REFERENCE . . 205

THE RESULTS OF THE DUMA SESSION. "*We Did This Together*" 206

OLD TRUTHS THAT ARE EVER NEW 211

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SECOND PARIS GROUP OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY 216

Introduction 216

I 217
II 220
III 221

INTRODUCTION TO THE PAMPHLET *TWO PARTIES* 225

REFORMISM IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT 229

FROM THE CAMP OF THE STOLYPIN "LABOUR" PARTY. *Dedicated to Our "Conciliators" and Advocates of "Agreement"* . . 242

COMMENT BY *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT* EDITORS ON STATEMENT BY COMMISSION CONVENING PLENARY MEETING OF C.C. . . . 245

STOLYPIN AND THE REVOLUTION 247

THE NEW FACTION OF CONCILIATORS, OR THE VIRTUOUS . . . 257

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE ELECTION PLATFORM . . . 278

FROM THE CAMP OF THE STOLYPIN "LABOUR" PARTY 287

THE GRAND TOTAL 292

TWO CENTRES 297

OLD AND NEW. *Notes of a Newspaper Reader* 300

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE NAME OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AT THE FUNERAL OF PAUL AND LAURA LAFARGUE. NOVEMBER 20 (DECEMBER 3). 1911 304

HYNDMAN ON MARX 306

A LIBERAL LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO 313

I 313
II 317
III 321

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE SECOND DUMA. *An Account of the Whole Affair* 325

THE SLOGANS AND ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORK INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE DUMA 331

AGENCY OF THE LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE 342

THE CLIMAX OF THE PARTY CRISIS 343

FROM THE CAMP OF THE STOLYPIN "LABOUR" PARTY 354

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

TROTSKY'S DIPLOMACY AND A CERTAIN PARTY PLATFORM . . 360

THE RESULTS OF THE ARBITRATION OF THE "TRUSTEES" . . . 365

THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ELECTIONS TO THE FOURTH DUMA . 368

I. Fundamental Questions of Principle 368
II. The Role of Worker Electors in the Election Campaign 372
III. The Peasantry and the Peasant Electors in the Election Campaign 380
IV. Conclusions Based on the Experience of the Elections to the Third Duma 384

OLD AND NEW 388

MEETING OF THE BOLSHEVIK GROUPS ABROAD. December 14-17 (27-30), 1911 393

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT "STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY". *Organisation of the Social-Democratic Party Forces Abroad and the Tasks of the Bolsheviks* . . 393

2. RESOLUTION ON THE RUSSIAN ORGANISING COMMISSION FOR THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE 396

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN . . . 397

I 397
II 402
III 405
IV 407
V 412
VI 417
VII 420

FIRST EXPOSURE OF CADET NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CABINET 424

THREE QUESTIONS 433

THE FAMINE AND THE REACTIONARY DUMA 446

1912

THE SIXTH (PRAGUE) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. January 6-17 (18-30), 1912 451

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFERENCE, *Resolution on the Constitution* 453

2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION 455

3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TASKS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FAMINE 458

4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON LIQUIDATIONISM AND THE GROUP OF LIQUIDATORS. *Liquidationism and the Group of Liquidators* 460

5. RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE 462

The Russian Organising Commission for Convening the Conference 462

The Constitution of the Conference 462

The Absence of Delegates from the Non-Russian National Centres from the General Party Conference 464

On the Reports of the Local Organisations 465

The Tasks of the Party in the Present Situation . . . 466

Elections to the Fourth Duma 468

I 468
II 469
III 470

The Social-Democratic Group in the Duma 471

The Character and Organisational Forms of Party Work 472

The Tasks of Social-Democracy in the Struggle Against the Famine 474

The Party's Attitude to the Workers' State Insurance Duma Bill 475

I 475
II 477

The "Petition Campaign" 479

Liquidationism and the Group of Liquidators 480

The Central Organ 482

Rabochaya Gazeta 482

Newspaper *Pravda* 482

Changes in the Organisational Rules of the Party . . . 482

Property in the Hands of the Former Trustee, and Financial Reports 483

The Red Cross 483

The Party Organisation Abroad 484
The Russian Government's Attack on Persia 484
The Chinese Revolution 485
The Policy of the Tsarist Government in Finland . . . 485
Greetings to the German Social-Democratic Party . . . 486

AN ORGAN OF A LIBERAL LABOUR POLICY 487

AGAINST UNITY—WITH THE LIQUIDATORS 491

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE FIVE YEARS OF THE THIRD DUMA 497

I 497
II 500

REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU ON THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 503

THE ELECTION PLATFORM OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 506

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZVEZDA*. *P.S. to "The Election Platform of the R.S.D.L.P."* 513

PUT YOUR CARDS ON THE TABLE 514

DEPUTY T. O. BELOUSOV'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA. 521

FAMINE 527

THE PEASANTRY AND THE ELECTIONS TO THE FOURTH DUMA . 529

THE ANONYMOUS WRITER IN *VORWÄRTS* AND THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE R.S.D.L.P. 533

Preface 535

A LETTER TO HUYSMANS, SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 547

THE BLOC OF THE CADETS WITH THE PROGRESSISTS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE 551

A POOR DEFENCE OF A LIBERAL LABOUR POLICY 556

THE SECOND BALLOT IN RUSSIA AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS 562

LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY 569

I 569
II 574

Notes 579

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 621

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover of *Mysl*, No. 2, for January 1911, containing Chapter II of Lenin's "Strike Statistics in Russia" and the beginning of the article "Those Who Would Liquidate Us (Re: Mr. Potresov and V. Bazarov)" 63

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Put Your Cards on the Table", March 1912 515

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

18

April 1912 – March 1913

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 15

THE FOURTH DUMA ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 17

THE LIQUIDATORS AGAINST THE PARTY 22

IN MEMORY OF HERZEN 25

LANDOWNERSHIP IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA. 32

THE TRUDOVIKS AND THE WORKER DEMOCRATS 36

I 36
II 38
III 41

POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA 44

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ORGANISATION OF BIG CAPITAL 56

I 56
II 59
III 61
IV 65
V 68
VI 71

THE ESSENCE OF "THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN RUSSIA". . . . 73

SOME CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE PRE-ELECTION MOBILISATION 78

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRIKES 83

THE PROBLEM OF RESETTLEMENT 91

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSWING 102

THE SLOGANS OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN JANUARY 1912 AND THE MAY DAY MOVEMENT . . 110

THE LIQUIDATORS OPPOSE REVOLUTIONARY MASS STRIKES . . 116

"UNITERS". 118

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR POLEMICS AGAINST THE LIBERALS 122
CAPITALISM AND "PARLIAMENT". 129
THE ELECTIONS AND THE OPPOSITION 132
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ELECTIONS 136
A COMPARISON OF THE STOLYPIN AND THE NARODNIK AGRARIAN PROGRAMMES. 143
THE SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY 150
I 150
II 153
III 156
A REPLY TO THE LIQUIDATORS 158
IN SWITZERLAND 160
DEMOCRACY AND NARODISM IN CHINA 163
THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS. 170
"FREEDOM OF SPEECH" IN RUSSIA. 173
HOW P. B. AXELROD EXPOSES THE LIQUIDATORS. 175
I 175
II 180
THE RESULTS OF SIX MONTHS' WORK 187
I 187
II 193
III 196
IV 200
THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. 203
To the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. 204
The Situation in the R.S.D.L.P. since January 1912 204
What Is the Relation of the Hitherto Neutral Russian Social-Democrats to the So-called Organising Committee?. 205
The Social-Democratic Group in the Third Duma. . . . 208
Officially Verifiable Data on the Influence of the Liquidators Compared with That of the Party 209
Open and Verifiable Data on the Links of the Liquidators and the Party with the Mass of the Workers in Russia 212
Conclusion 215
Postscript 219

ORIGINAL POSTSCRIPT TO THE PAMPHLET THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE R.S.D.L.P. 221
CAPITALISM AND POPULAR CONSUMPTION 224
LIBERALS AND CLERICALS 227
CADETS AND DEMOCRATS. 229
THE LIBERAL CAMPAIGN 231
REVOLTS IN THE ARMY AND NAVY. 233
ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE FOURTH DUMA . . . 237
CAN THE SLOGAN "FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION" SERVE AS A BASIS FOR THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT TODAY? 242
LETTER TO THE SWISS WORKERS 245
QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE 246
THE LAST VALVE 248
A LITTLE EXPLANATION 254
WORKERS' EARNINGS AND CAPITALIST PROFITS IN RUSSIA . . . 256
THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND WAGES 258
THE WORKING DAY IN THE FACTORIES OF MOSCOW GUBERNIA 260
THE WORKING DAY AND WORKING YEAR IN MOSCOW GUBERNIA IN BRITAIN 262
CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION IN RUSSIA. 270
A CAREER 272
TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU 274
THE CADETS AND THE AGRARIAN QUESTION 276
A POOR DEFENCE. 278
THE LIQUIDATORS AND "UNITY" 288
A TALK ON "CADET-EATING" 290
THE WORKERS AND PRAVDA 292
BEFORE AND NOW 299
THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF JUDGES 302
IN SWITZERLAND 304
THE PRIESTHOOD AND POLITICS 307
310

YET ANOTHER ANTI-DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN 312

I 312
II 315
III 317
IV 319
V 321

THE UNITY OF THE CADETS AND *NOVOYE VREMYA* 323

CONCERNING N. S. POLYANSKY'S LETTER 326

THE POLITICAL LINE 328

THE SUCCESSES OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS 335

THE END OF THE ITALO-TURKISH WAR 337

A GAME OF CHANCE 339

THE PRIESTHOOD IN THE ELECTIONS, AND ELECTIONS WITH THE PRIESTHOOD. 341

MR. MILYUKOV'S "POSITION" 345

DEPUTY OF THE ST. PETERSBURG WORKERS. 347

THE BALKAN PEOPLES AND EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY 349

THE FOX AND THE HEN-COOP 351

A DISGRACEFUL RESOLUTION 353

TWO UTOPIAS 355

DEBATES IN BRITAIN ON LIBERAL LABOUR POLICY 360

A CADET PROFESSOR 366

A NEW CHAPTER OF WORLD HISTORY 368

CADETS AND NATIONALISTS 370

THE HORRORS OF WAR 372

THE CADETS AND THE BIG BOURGEOISIE 374

TRULY RUSSIAN MORALS 376

THE PLATFORM OF THE REFORMISTS AND THE PLATFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 378

THE ILLEGAL PARTY AND LEGAL WORK 387

I 388
II 391
III 393
IV 394

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SERBO-BULGARIAN VICTORIES 397

REGENERATED CHINA 400

THE RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 402

THE "VEXED QUESTIONS" OF OUR PARTY. *The "Liquidationist" and "National" Questions* 405

I 405
II 407
III 409
IV 411

CONCERNING CERTAIN SPEECHES BY WORKERS' DEPUTIES. . . 413

CONCERNING THE WORKERS' DEPUTIES TO THE DUMA AND THEIR DECLARATION 420

CONCERNING THE EVENT OF NOVEMBER 15. *An Undelivered Speech* 424

A LETTER TO J. V. STALIN 427

A LETTER TO J. V. STALIN 430

THE DISEASE OF REFORMISM 432

IMPOVERISHMENT IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY 435

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES 437

THE "RECONCILIATION" OF THE NATIONALISTS AND CADETS . . 439

THE NATIONAL-LIBERALS 441

ON THE ATTITUDE TO LIQUIDATIONISM AND ON UNITY. *Theses* 444

NOTIFICATION AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CRACOW MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AND PARTY FUNCTIONARIES 447

Notification 449
Resolutions 456

The Revolutionary Upswing, the Strikes, and the Tasks of the Party 456
Building the Illegal Organisation 458
The Social-Democratic Group in the Duma 460
Illegal Literature 461
The Insurance Campaign 461
The Attitude to Liquidationism, and Unity 463
Non-Russian Social-Democratic Organisations 465

THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT IN 1912. 467

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER 469

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES AND STREET DEMONSTRATIONS 471

ORIGINAL POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE "THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES AND STREET DEMONSTRATIONS 478

THE SPLIT AMONG THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 479

ON BOLSHEVISM 485

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POINCARÉ'S ELECTION 487

FRANKLY 489

THE BRIAND CABINET 491

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS 493

I. Manipulating the Elections 493
II. The New Duma 495
III. Changes within the June Third System 498
IV. What Was the Issue in the Elections? 502
V. The Election Slogans Tested by Experience 505
VI. "End" of the Illusions about the Cadet Party . . . 510
VII. Concerning an "Enormous Danger to the Landownership of the Nobility" 513
VIII. Covering Up the Defeat 514

EXPERIENCE TEACHES 519

NEW DEMOCRATS 522

ON NARODISM 524

I 524
II 525

TO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 529

The Mass of the Workers and the Underground. . . . 529

IN THE WORLD OF THE AZEFS 532

THE BOURGEOISIE AND REFORMISM 534

APROPOS OF THE OPEN PARTY 536

MOBILISATION OF PEASANT LANDS 539

A WORD ABOUT STRIKES 541

RUSSIANS AND NEGROES 543

A DISCOVERY 545

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE 547

CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS SHATTERED 549

THANK YOU FOR YOUR FRANKNESS 551

THE QUESTION OF UNITY 553

WHAT GOES ON AMONG THE NARODNIKS AND WHAT GOES ON IN THE COUNTRYSIDE 555

AN INCREASING DISCREPANCY. *Notes of a Publicist* 562

I 562
II 563
III 564
IV 566
V 567
VI 568
VII 569
VIII 571
IX 573
X 574

SOME RESULTS OF THE "LAND DISTRIBUTION" POLICY 580

THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX 582

I 582
II 583
III 584

BIG LANDLORD AND SMALL PEASANT LANDOWNERSHIP IN RUSSIA 586

FALSE NOTES 588

"THE CRUX OF THE MATTER" 590

LIBERAL EMBELLISHMENT OF SERFDOM 592

A "SCIENTIFIC" SYSTEM OF SWEATING 594

OUR "ACHIEVEMENTS" 596

AGREEMENT OR SPLIT? Concerning the Differences Within the Social-Democratic Duma Group 598

"SPARE CASH" 601

Notes 603

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 641

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 15, of July 1, 1912, in which Lenin's articles "The Significance of the St. Petersburg Elections" and "A Comparison of the Stolypin and the Narodnik Agrarian Programmes" were published 139

First page of *Pravda* No. 80, of August 1, 1912, in which Part III of Lenin's article "The Results of Six Months' Work" was published 189

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Concerning Certain Speeches by Workers' Deputies". November 1912 415

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Notification" on the meeting of the C.C. R.S.D.L.P. and Party functionaries. January 1913 451

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
19

March – December 1913

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 17

THE THREE SOURCES AND THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM 23

I 24
II 25
III 27

BIG ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC 29

OLD PROBLEMS AND THE SENILE DECAY OF LIBERALISM . . . 31

THE "OIL HUNGER" 33

THE CADET ASSEMBLY BILL 37

THE BALKAN WAR AND BOURGEOIS CHAUVINISM 39

CONVERSATION 43

CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT. *A Newspaper Report* 47

EDUCATED DEPUTIES 52

"WHO STANDS TO GAIN?" 53

IN BRITAIN (*The Sad Results of Opportunism*) 55

CIVILISED EUROPEANS AND SAVAGE ASIANS 57

MERCHANT ACCOUNTANCY 59

A GREAT TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT 61

A FEW WORDS ON RESULTS AND FACTS 63

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESETTLEMENT SCHEME 66

VEKHI CONTRIBUTORS AND NATIONALISM (*Bibliographical Note*) . 72

THE LIBERALS AND FREEDOM FOR THE UNIONS 74

FOR THE ATTENTION OF *LUCH* AND *PRAVDA* READERS 76

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF JOSEPH DIETZGEN 79

THE BOURGEOISIE AND PEACE 83

THE AWAKENING OF ASIA 85

SEPARATISTS IN RUSSIA AND SEPARATISTS IN AUSTRIA 87

THE RESETTLEMENT SCHEME AGAIN 89

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION 91

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY CONFERENCE 93

IS THE CONDITION OF THE PEASANTS IMPROVING OR WORSENING? 96

BACKWARD EUROPE AND ADVANCED ASIA 99

A DISCREDITABLE ROLE! (Once More for the Attention of *Luch* and *Pravda* Readers) 101

THE LAND QUESTION SETTLED—LANDOWNER FASHION 103

ARMAMENTS AND CAPITALISM 106

HELPLESSNESS AND CONFUSION (*Note*) 108

DRAFT PLATFORM FOR THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS OF THE LATVIAN AREA 110

- Appraisal of the Political Situation and the General Tactical Tasks of the Social-Democrats 110
- The Question of the Unity of the R.S.D.L.P. 112
- Attitude to the Liquidators 113
- The Question of Support for the Liquidators' Conference and Organising Committee by the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of the Latvian Area 114
- The National Question 115

LIBERAL AND MARXIST CONCEPTIONS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. *Note* 119

FACTORY OWNERS ON WORKERS' STRIKES 125

I 125
II 127
III 129

AN INCORRECT APPRAISAL (*LUCH* ON MAKLAKOV) 132

FRANK SPEECHES BY A LIBERAL 135

THE QUESTION OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION POLICY (*Supplement to the Discussion on Public Education*) 137

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. *AN OPEN PARTY AND THE MARXISTS* 147

I. The Decision of 1908 149
II. The Decision of 1910 153
III. The Attitude of the Liquidators to the Decisions of 1908 and 1910 156
IV. The Class Significance of Liquidationism 159
V. The Slogan of "Struggle for an Open Party" 163
VI. 166

LETTER TO M. S. OLMINSKY (VITIMSKY) 170

THE QUESTION OF MR. BOGDANOV AND THE *VPERYOD* GROUP (For the Editors of *Pravda*) 173

HAS *PRAVDA* GIVEN PROOF OF BUNDIST SEPARATISM? 175

LIBERALS AS DEFENDERS OF THE FOURTH DUMA 177

THE QUESTION OF THE (GENERAL) AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT 180

CAPITALISM AND TAXATION 197

ECONOMIC STRIKES IN 1912 AND IN 1905 201

THE GROWTH OF CAPITALIST WEALTH 203

THE PEASANTRY AND THE WORKING CLASS 206

CHILD LABOUR IN PEASANT FARMING 209

THE RESULTS OF STRIKES IN 1912 AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE PAST 213

IN AUSTRALIA 216

MAY DAY ACTION BY THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT . . . 218

NOTES OF A PUBLICIST 228

APROPOS OF ONE UNTRUTH (*Letter to the Editors*) 233
THE WORKING CLASS AND NEOMALTHUSIANISM 235
LIBERAL APPEALS TO SUPPORT THE FOURTH DUMA 238
BOURGEOIS FINANCIAL MAGNATES AND POLITICIANS 241
THESES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION 243
INSTRUCTIVE SPEECHES 252
PICTURES FROM LIFE 256
THE ADJOURNED DUMA AND THE EMBARRASSED LIBERALS . . 258
FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST PROSTITUTION . . 260
WORD AND DEED 262
CADETS ON THE QUESTION OF THE UKRAINE 266
FRESH DATA ON GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES 268
EXPOSURE OF THE BRITISH OPPORTUNISTS 272
THE IDEAS OF AN ADVANCED CAPITALIST 275
WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION 277
PETTY PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE 280
A "FASHIONABLE" BRANCH OF INDUSTRY 283
DEAD LIQUIDATIONISM AND THE LIVING *RECH* 285
MOBILISATION OF ALLOTMENT LANDS 288
HOW CAN PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION IN RUSSIA BE INCREASED? 292
AUGUST BEBEL 295
THE SEPARATION OF LIBERALISM FROM DEMOCRACY 302
A FINE BUSINESS! 305
THE NATIONALISATION OF JEWISH SCHOOLS. 307

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

IRON ON PEASANT FARMS 309

METALWORKERS' STRIKE IN 1912 311

I 311
II 313
III 314
IV 315
V 316
VI 318
VII 319
VIII 320
IX 322
X 323

THE RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE AND RUSSIAN REFORMISM 325

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL ESTATES AND CLASSES IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT 328

CLASS WAR IN DUBLIN 332

NEW LAND "REFORM" MEASURES 337

THE MERCHANT SALAZKIN AND THE WRITER F. D. 340

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM 343

A WEEK AFTER THE DUBLIN MASSACRE 348

QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE IN POLITICS. *The Liberal Bourgeoisie and Reformism* 350

LIBERALS AND DEMOCRATS ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION. . . 354

THE LANGUAGE FIGURES. 358

I 358
II 359
III 361
IV 362

BOURGEOIS GENTLEMEN ON "FAMILY" FARMING 364

HARRY QUELCH 369

MARXISM AND REFORMISM 372

THE LAND QUESTION AND THE RURAL POOR 376

HOW DOES BISHOP NIKON DEFEND THE UKRAINIANS? 379

NOTES OF A PUBLICIST 382

I. Non-Party Intellectuals Against Marxism 382
II. Liberal Blindness 383
III. A Necessary Explanation 385

CIVILISED BARBARISM 388

THE BLACK HUNDREDS 390

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AND RUSSIAN REFORMS 392

HOW VERA ZASULICH DEMOLISHES LIQUIDATIONISM 394

I 394
II 399
III 402
IV 405
V 407
VI 410

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SUMMER, 1913, JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AND PARTY OFFICIALS 417

THE TASKS OF AGITATION IN THE PRESENT SITUATION 419

RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANISATIONAL QUESTION AND ON THE PARTY CONGRESS 421

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT 422

THE PARTY PRESS 423

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITIES IN THE DUMA 424

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA 425

WORK IN LEGAL ASSOCIATIONS 426

RESOLUTION ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION 427

THE NARODNIKS 429

THERE'S A TRUDOVIK FOR YOU! 432

BEWILDERED NON-PARTY PEOPLE 436

THE LIBERALS AND THE LAND PROBLEM IN BRITAIN 439

A WEAK DEFENCE OF A WEAK CASE 443

DECLARATION 446

THE DUMA "SEVEN" 449

THE LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE AND THE LIQUIDATORS 451

CAPITALISM AND WORKERS' IMMIGRATION 454

MATERIAL ON THE CONFLICT WITHIN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DUMA GROUP 458

- Whose Will? 458
- What Is the Will of the Majority of the Class-Conscious Workers of Russia? 459
- What Did the Elections to the Second, Third and Fourth Dumas Reveal Concerning the Will of the Proletariat 460
- Who Are the Deputies? 461
- What Is the Will of the Workers as Shown by Workers' Newspapers in Russia? 463
- What Is the Will of the Workers as Shown by Collections for Workers' Newspapers? 464
- What Is the Will of the Workers as Shown by the St. Petersburg Trade Unions? 465
- Ideological Unity 467
- The Liquidators and the Bourgeoisie 468
- Decision of the United Marxists 469
- Our Work Within the Duma Group 471
- What Do the Six Demand? 473
- Unity Inside and Outside the Duma 473

A CADET PROPERTY-OWNER ARGUES "ACCORDING TO MARX" 475

THE WORKING-CLASS MASSES AND THE WORKING-CLASS INTELLIGENTSIA 477

THE SPLIT IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DUMA 480

THE LEFT NARODNIKS ON THE CONTROVERSIES AMONG THE MARXISTS 485

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RUSSIA (*Notes of a Publicist*) 487

TWO METHODS OF CONTROVERSY AND STRUGGLE 492

WOULD-BE "UNITERS" 495

A LETTER TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. 499

"CULTURAL-NATIONAL" AUTONOMY 503

COTERIES ABROAD AND RUSSIAN LIQUIDATORS. 508

THE CADET MAKLAKOV AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT PETROVSKY 511

ZABERN. 513

THE QUESTION OF BUREAU DECISIONS 516

WORKING-CLASS UNITY 519

A STUBBORN DEFENCE OF A BAD CASE. 522

THE CADETS AND "THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION" 525

A GOOD RESOLUTION AND A BAD SPEECH. 528

THE NATIONALITY OF PUPILS IN RUSSIAN SCHOOLS. 531

STRIKES IN RUSSIA. 534

THE NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 539

KAUTSKY'S UNPARDONABLE ERROR 546

ONCE MORE ON THE SEGREGATION OF THE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY 548

MR. GORSKY AND A CERTAIN LATIN PROVERB. 551

THE MARX-ENGELS CORRESPONDENCE 552

I. General Review 554

Notes 559

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 589

ILLUSTRATIONS

Title page of the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* No. 3, March 1913; this issue contained Lenin's article "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" . . . . . p. 21

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Conversation". March-April 1913 . . . . . p. 41

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "The Question of the (General) Agrarian Policy of the Present Government". 1913 p. 181

First page of the newspaper Rabochaya Pravda No. 3, July 16, 1913, which contained Lenin's articles "Word and Deed", "Cadets on the Question of the Ukraine", "Fresh Data on German Political Parties" and "Exposure of the British Opportunists" . . . . . p. 263

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "The Marx-Engels Correspondence". End of 1913 . . . . . pp. 552-53

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

20

December 1913 – August 1914

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 15

1913

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION 17

1. Liberals and Democrats on the Language Question. . . 20
2. "National Culture" 23
3. The Nationalist Bogey of "Assimilation" 27
4. "Cultural-National Autonomy" 33
5. The Equality of Nations and the Rights of National Minorities 40
6. Centralisation and Autonomy. 45

ONCE MORE ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU AND THE LIQUIDATOR 52

NATIONAL LIBERALISM AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION 56

NARODISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM AS DISINTEGRATING ELEMENTS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT 59

COMMENT ON KAUTSKY'S LETTER 63

NOVOYE VREMYA AND *RECH* ON THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION 65

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR 67

1914

FOUR THOUSAND RUBLES A YEAR AND A SIX-HOUR DAY 68

IS A COMPULSORY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE NEEDED? 71

TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS 74

I 74
II 75
II 76
IV 76
V 77
VI 78

THE PURPOSE OF ZEMSTVO STATISTICS 82

BOOK REVIEW. *Labour Protection Exhibits at the All-Russia Hygiene Exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1913.* St. Petersburg 1913. Pp. 78. Price not indicated 89

THE LIBERALS' CORRUPTION OF THE WORKERS 90

LETTER TO THE EDITOR 93

THE LIQUIDATORS' LEADER ON THE LIQUIDATORS' TERMS OF "UNITY" 95

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAMME IN AUSTRIA AND IN RUSSIA 99

A HIGHBORN LIBERAL LANDLORD ON THE "NEW ZEMSTVO RUSSIA" 102

NARODISM AND THE CLASS OF WAGE-WORKERS 105

MORE ABOUT "NATIONALISM" 109

THE PEASANTRY AND HIRED LABOUR 111

MR. STRUVE ON THE NEED TO "REFORM THE GOVERNMENT" 114

THE NARODNIKS ON N. K. MIKHAILOVSKY 117

CONCERNING A. BOGDANOV 121

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON VETERAN'S ARTICLE "THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE LETTISH PROLETARIAT" 125

PREFACE TO THE SYMPOSIUM: *MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM* 126

POLITICAL DISPUTES AMONG THE LIBERALS 129

THE "LABOURING" PEASANTRY AND THE TRADE IN LAND . . . 132

WHAT IS WORRYING THE LIBERALS 136

NARODNIKS AND LIQUIDATORS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. (*A Valuable Admission*) 138

PIOUS WISHES 142

A LIBERAL PROFESSOR ON EQUALITY 144

THE BRITISH LIBERALS AND IRELAND 148

THE TAYLOR SYSTEM—MAN'S ENSLAVEMENT BY THE MACHINE 152

A "RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION" AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL-DEMOCRATS IN THE MARCH 1 CONFERENCE 155

THE BREAK-UP OF THE "AUGUST" BLOC 158

CAPITALISM AND THE PRESS 162

A RADICAL BOURGEOIS ON THE RUSSIAN WORKERS 166

POLITICAL LESSONS 170

THE NATIONAL EQUALITY BILL 172

A Bill for the Abolition of All Disabilities of the Jews and of All Restrictions on the Grounds of Origin or Nationality 173

FARM LABOURERS' WAGES 174

THE LETTISH WORKERS AND THE SPLIT IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE DUMA 177

HE "AUGUST" FICTION EXPOSED 182

SOCIALISM DEMOLISHED AGAIN 187

I 190
II 191
III 193
IV 196
V 197
VI 200
VII 202
VIII 204
IX 206
X 207

FORMS OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT (*The Lockout and Marxist Tactics*) 209

THE LEFT NARODNIKS WHITEWASH THE BOURGEOISIE 213

ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL POLICY 217

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN BRITAIN 226

UNITY 230

ORGANISED MARXISTS ON INTERVENTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU 233

NATIONAL EQUALITY. 237

THE LIQUIDATORS AND THE LETTISH WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT 239

SERF ECONOMY IN THE RURAL AREAS 242

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS' PRESS IN RUSSIA . . . 245

WHAT SHOULD NOT BE COPIED FROM THE GERMAN LABOUR MOVEMENT 254

BOOK REVIEW, N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books*, Vol. II. Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1913. Price 4 rubles. Second Edition . . . 259

LIQUIDATIONISM DEFINED 262

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO THE SYMPOSIUM *MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM* 265

MORE ABOUT THE POLITICAL CRISIS 274

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT 277

BILL ON THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES. 281

"NEIGHBOURING SQUIRES" 284

THE NARODNIKS AND "FACTIONAL COERCION" 286

CORRUPTING THE WORKERS WITH REFINED NATIONALISM . . . 289

THE POLITICAL SITUATION 292

WORKERS' UNITY AND INTELLECTUALIST "TRENDS" 294

THE LEFT NARODNIKS 298

THE LIQUIDATORS AND MALINOVSKY'S BIOGRAPHY 302

TWO PATHS 306

PLEKHANOV, WHO KNOWS NOT WHAT HE WANTS. 309

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

THE ESTIMATES OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE 313

UNITY 319

A FOOL'S HASTE IS NO SPEED 322

DISRUPTION OF UNITY UNDER COVER OF OUTCRIES FOR UNITY 325

I. "Factionalism" 327
II. The Split 332
III. The Break-up of the August Bloc 336
IV. A Conciliator's Advice to the "Seven" 339
V. Trotsky's Liquidationist Views. 342

BOOK REVIEW. I. Drozdov, *The Wages of Farm Labourers in Russia in Connection With the Agrarian Movement in 1905-06*. St. Petersburg (published by M. I. Semyonov), 1914. Pp. 68. Price 50 kopeks 348

CLARITY HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. *Class-Conscious Workers, Please Note* 351

1. The Programme and the National Question 351
2. The Decision of 1908 353
3. The 1910 Decision. 354
4. "Trends" 355

ADVENTURISM 356

THE LIQUIDATORS AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LETTISH MARXISTS 360

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PRESS 363

LEFT-WING NARODISM AND MARXISM 372

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN RUSSIA 375

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF VITUPERATION. (*On the Question of Unity*) 378

OBJECTIVE DATA ON THE STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS TRENDS IN THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT 381

HOW STRONG IS THE LEFT-NARODNIK TREND AMONG THE WORKERS 388

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION 393

1. What Is Meant by the Self-Determination of Nations? 395
2. The Historically Concrete Presentation of the Question 400

3. The Concrete Features of the National Question in Russia, and Russia's Bourgeois-Democratic Reformation 404
4. "Practicality" in the National Question 409
5. The Liberal Bourgeoisie and the Socialist Opportunists in the National Question 414
6. Norway's Secession from Sweden 425
7. The Resolution of the London International Congress, 1896 430
8. The Utopian Karl Marx and the Practical Rosa Luxemburg 435
9. The 1903 Programme and Its Liquidators 442
10. Conclusion 451

THE BOURGEOIS INTELLIGENTSIA'S METHODS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WORKERS 455

1. The Liquidators' and the Narodniks' Alliance Against the Workers 456
2. How the Liberals Defend "Unity" Between the Workers and the Liquidators 463
3. Why the Workers' Organisations Publicly Denounced the Liquidators as Slanderers? 474

THE VPERYODISTS AND THE *VPERYOD* GROUP 487

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON OCKSEN LOLA'S "APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN WORKERS" 494

REPORT OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THE C.C. DELEGATION 495

I. 497
II. 502
III. 513
IV. 515

Appendix. Instructions 528

I. *Notes privées* 528
II. *Notes privées* 529
III. Not for the Report 530
IV. 532

HOW THE WORKERS RESPONDED TO THE FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR GROUP IN THE DUMA 536

What Is Shown by the Activities of the Two Groups During the First Quarter 541

CLARITY FIRST AND FOREMOST! (*On the Question of Unity*) . . 544

1. People Holding Two Opinions 544

THE RESULTS OF WORKERS' PRESS DAY SUMMED UP. *From the Report Published in "Put Pravdy"* 548

St. Petersburg. 553

THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS 556

REPLY TO THE ARTICLE IN *LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG* 558

Notes 561

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 615

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin. *1914*. 16-17

Pages 29-30 of Lenin's Letter to Camille Huysmans dated January 31-February 1, 1914 78-81

A page of Lenin's manuscript with a rough draft of his table to the article "Objective Data on the Strength of the Various Trends in the Working-Class Movement". June 1914 382-83

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
21

August 1914 – December 1915

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 13

THE TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN WAR 15

The Russian Social-Democrats on the European War 15
Resolution of a Group of Social-Democrats 15

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 20

THE WAR AND RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 25

THE POSITION AND TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL 35

LETTER TO *VORWÄRTS* AND WIENER *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG* . . . 42

KARL MARX (*A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism*) 43

Preface 45
The Marxist Doctrine 50

Philosophical Materialism 50
Dialectics 53
The Materialist Conception of History 55
The Class Struggle 57

Marx's Economic Doctrine 59

Value 59
Surplus Value 61
Accumulation of Capital 63
Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation 64
Average Rate of Profit 66
Theory of Ground Rent 67
Evolution of Capitalism in Agriculture 68
Socialism 71
Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat 74

Bibliography 80

A GERMAN VOICE ON THE WAR 92

DEAD CHAUVINISM AND LIVING SOCIALISM (*How the International Can Be Restored*) 94

ON THE NATIONAL PRIDE OF THE GREAT RUSSIANS 102

WHAT NEXT? (*On the Tasks Confronting the Workers Parties with Regard to Opportunism and Social-Chauvinism*) 107

THE KIND OF "UNITY" LARIN PROCLAIMED AT THE SWEDISH CONGRESS 115

THE RUSSIAN BRAND OF SÜDEKUM 118

TO THE EDITORS OF *NASHE SLOVO* 125

HOW THE POLICE AND THE REACTIONARIES PROTECT THE UNITY OF GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 129

THE LONDON CONFERENCE 132

UNDER A FALSE FLAG 135

I 138
II 145
III 150

THE CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. GROUPS ABROAD 158

The Conference's Resolutions 158
On the Character of the War 159
The "Defence of the Fatherland" Slogan 159
The Slogans of the Revolutionary Social-Democrats 160
Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International . . 161
The Third International 162
Pacifism and the Peace Slogan 162
The Defeat of the Tsarist Monarchy 163
The Attitude Towards Other Parties and Groups 163

LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE EDITORS OF *NASHE SLOVO* 165

WHAT HAS BEEN REVEALED BY THE TRIAL OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR DUMA GROUP 171

ON THE LONDON CONFERENCE. 178

THE SLOGAN OF CIVIL WAR ILLUSTRATED 181

THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS' SOPHISMS 183

THE QUESTION OF THE UNITY OF INTERNATIONALISTS 188

BOURGEOIS PHILANTHROPISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 192

THE COLLAPSE OF PLATONIC INTERNATIONALISM 194

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM 199

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL 205

I 208
II 212
III 217
IV 223
V 227
VI 233
VII 241
VIII 251
IX 256

BRITISH PACIFISM AND THE BRITISH DISLIKE OF THEORY . . . 260

HOW SERVILITY TO REACTION IS BLENDED WITH PLAYING AT DEMOCRACY 266

THE MAIN GERMAN OPPORTUNIST WORK ON THE WAR 270

THE DEFEAT OF ONE'S OWN GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR 275

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 281

THE "PEACE" SLOGAN APPRAISED 287

THE QUESTION OF PEACE 290

SOCIALISM AND WAR (*The Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the War*) 295

Preface to the First (Foreign) Edition 297

Preface to the Second Edition 298

Chapter I. The Principles of Socialism and the War of 1914-15 299

The Attitude of Socialists Towards Wars 299
The Historical Types of Wars in Modern Times. 299
The Difference Between Wars of Aggression and of Defence 300
The War of Today Is an Imperialist War 301
A War Between the Biggest Slave-holders for the Maintenance and Consolidation of Slavery 302
"War Is the Continuation of Politics by Other" (i.e.: Violent) "Means" 304
The Case of Belgium 305
What Russia Is Fighting For 306
What Social-Chauvinism Is 306
The Basle Manifesto 307
False References to Marx and Engels. 308
The Collapse of the Second International 309
Social-Chauvinism Is the Acme of Opportunism. 309
Unity with the Opportunists Means an Alliance Between the Workers and Their "Own" National Bourgeoisie, and Splitting the International Revolutionary Working Class 311

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

"Kautskyism" 311
The Marxists' Slogan Is a Slogan of Revolutionary Social-Democracy 313
The Example Set by the Fraternisation in the Trenches . . 313
The Importance of an Underground Organisation 314
On the Defeat of One's "Own" Government in the Imperialist War 315
Pacifism and the Peace Slogan 315
The Right of Nations to Self-Determination 316

Chapter II. Classes and Parties in Russia 317

The Bourgeoisie and the War 317
The Working Class and the War 319
The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Group in the Duma, and the War 320

Chapter III. The Restoration of the International 323

The Method of the Social-Chauvinists and of the "Centre" . 323
The State of Affairs Among the Opposition 325
The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and the Third International 329

Chapter IV. The History of the Split, and the Present State of Social-Democracy in Russia 331

The Economists and the Old *Iskra* (1894-1903) 331
Menshevism and Bolshevism (1903-1908) 332
Marxism and Liquidationism (1908-1914) 333
Marxism and Social-Chauvinism (1914-1915) 334
The Present State of Affairs in the Ranks of the Russian Social-Democrats 335
Our Party's Tasks 338

ON THE SLOGAN FOR A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE 339

ON THE SLOGAN FOR THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. Editorial Comment by *Sotsial-Demokrat* on the Manifesto on War Issued by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. 344

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE LEFT WING AT ZIMMERWALD 345

THE VOICE OF AN HONEST FRENCH SOCIALIST 349

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM IN ITALY (*Note*) 357

APPEAL ON THE WAR 367

WE ARE THANKFUL FOR SUCH FRANKNESS 370

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE (I.S.C.) 372

THE DEFEAT OF RUSSIA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS . . . 378

THE FIRST STEP 383

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 5-8, 1915 389

KAUTSKY, AXELROD, AND MARTOV—TRUE INTERNATIONALISTS 394

SEVERAL THESES. *Proposed by the Editors* 401

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION 407

ON THE TWO LINES IN THE REVOLUTION 415

AT THE UTTERMOST LIMIT 421

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE 423

SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST POLICY BEHIND A COVER OF INTERNATIONALIST PHRASES. 429

OPPORTUNISM, AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL 438

Notes 455

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 485

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Karl Marx". July-November 1914 46-47

First page of Sotsial-*Demokrat* No. 40, March 29, 1915, in which Lenin's articles "What Has Been Revealed by the Trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group" and "On the London Conference" were published 169

First page of Lenin's manuscript "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination". 1915 (in German) 405

First page of Lenin's letter to the Secretary of the Socialist Propaganda League. November 1915 425

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
22

December 1915 – July 1916

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE 11

1914-15

NEW DATA ON THE LAWS GOVERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN AGRICULTURE. **PART ONE**. *CAPITALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA* 13

1. General Characteristic of the Three Main Sections. The Homestead West 19
2. The Industrial North 22
3. The Former Slave-owning South. 24
4. Average Size of Farms. "Disintegration of Capitalism" in the South. 27
5. The Capitalist Nature of Agriculture. 32
6. Areas of the Most Intensive Agriculture 37
7. Machinery and Hired Labour in Agriculture 43
8. Displacement of Small by Big Enterprises. Quantity of Improved Land. 48
9. Continued. Statistics on the Value of Farms 55
10. Defects of Conventional Methods of Economic Analysis. Marx on the Peculiarities of Agriculture 58
11. A More Exact Comparison of Small and Large Enterprises 64
12. Different Types of Enterprises in Agriculture 72
13. How the Displacement of Small-scale by Large-scale Production in Agriculture Is Minimised 78
14. The Expropriation of the Small Farmers 85
15. A Comparative Picture of Evolution in Industry and Agriculture 92
16. Summary and Conclusions 100

PREFACE TO N. BUKHARIN'S PAMPHLET, *IMPERIALISM AND THE WORLD ECONOMY* 103

OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL 108
I 108
II 111
III 113

1916

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE 121

FOR THE CONFERENCE TO BE HELD ON APRIL 24, 1916. *Proposal of the Delegation* 122

SPEECH DELIVERED AT AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN BERNE, FEBRUARY 8, 1916. 123

THE TASKS OF THE OPPOSITION IN FRANCE. *Letter to Comrade Saprov* 127

HAVE THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE AND THE CHKHEIDZE GROUP A POLICY OF THEIR OWN? 131

PEACE WITHOUT ANNEXATIONS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF POLAND AS SLOGANS OF THE DAY IN RUSSIA 137

WILHELM KOLB AND GEORGY PLEKHANOV 141

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION. *Theses* 143

1. Imperialism, Socialism and the Liberation of Oppressed Nations. 143
2. The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Democracy 144
3. The Significance of the Right to Self-Determination and Its Relation to Federation 146
4. The Proletarian-Revolutionary Presentation of the Question of the Self-Determination of Nations 147
5. Marxism and Proudhonism on the National Question . . 149
6. Three Types of Countries with Respect to the Self-Determination of Nations 150
7. Social-Chauvinism and the Self-Determination of Nations 152
8. The Concrete Tasks of the Proletariat in the Immediate Future 153
9. The Attitude of Russian and Polish Social-Democrats and of the Second International to Self-Determination . . . 154

LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF ORGANISATIONS ABROAD TO THE SECTIONS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 157

THE PEACE PROGRAMME 161

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE 169

SPLIT OR DECAY? 180
GERMAN AND NON-GERMAN CHAUVINISM 182
IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM. *A Popular Outline* 185
Preface 187
Preface to the French and German Editions 189
I 189
II 189
III 191
IV 192
V 193
I. Concentration of Production and Monopolies 196
II. Banks and Their New Role 210
III. Finance Capital and the Financial Oligarchy 226
IV. Export of Capital 240
V. Division of the World Among Capitalist Associations 246
VI. Division of the World Among the Great Powers. . . 254
VII. Imperialism, as a Special Stage of Capitalism 265
VIII. Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism 276
IX. Critique of Imperialism 285
X. The Place of Imperialism in History 298
THE JUNIUS PAMPHLET 305
THE DISCUSSION ON SELF-DETERMINATION SUMMED UP 320
1. Socialism and the Self-Determination of Nations. . . . 321
2. Is Democracy "Practicable" Under Imperialism? 325
3. What Is Annexation? 328
4. For or Against Annexations? 331
5. Why Are Social-Democrats Against Annexations? 335
6. Is It Right to Contrast "Europe" with the Colonies in the Present Question? 337
7. Marxism or Proudhonism? 339
8. The Specific and the General in the Position of the Dutch and Polish Social-Democrat Internationalists . . 347
9. Engels's Letter to Kautsky 352
10. The Irish Rebellion of 1916 353
11. Conclusion 358
Notes 361
The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 383

ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover of *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America*. 1917 15

First page of manuscript, "Proposals Submitted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the Second Socialist Conference". February-March 1916 171

Cover of *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. 1917 192-93

First page of manuscript, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. January-June 1916 196-97

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
23

August 1916 – March 1917

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 11

1916

THE NASCENT TREND OF IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM 13
REPLY TO P. KIEVSKY (Y. PYATAKOV) 22
A CARICATURE OF MARXISM AND IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM . . 28
1. The Marxist Attitude Towards War and "Defence of the Fatherland" 29
2. "Our Understanding of the New Era" 36
3. That Is Economic Analysis? 40
4. The Example of Norway 48
5. "Monism and Dualism" 55
6. The Other Political Issues Raised and Distorted by P. Kievsky 63
7. Conclusion. Alexinsky Methods 75
THE MILITARY PROGRAMME OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 77
I 77
II 80
III 83
LOST IN A WOOD OF THREE TREES 88
GREETINGS TO THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS 90
THE "DISARMAMENT" SLOGAN 94
I 94
II 96
III 99
IV 100
IMPERIALISM AND THE SPLIT IN SOCIALISM 105
SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF SWITZERLAND, NOVEMBER 4, 1916 121

A SEPARATE PEACE 125

TEN "SOCIALIST" MINISTERS! 134

TASKS OF THE LEFT ZIMMERWALDISTS IN THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY 137

I. Attitude Towards the War and Towards the Bourgeois Government in General 137
II. The High Cost of Living and the Intolerable Economic Conditions of the Masses 139
III. Pressing Democratic Reforms and Utilisation of the Political Struggle and Parliamentarism 141
IV. The Immediate Tasks of Party Propaganda, Agitation and Organisation 143
V. International Tasks of the Swiss Social-Democrats . . . 146

THESES ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY TOWARDS THE WAR 149

PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE WAR ISSUE 152

ON THE DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND ISSUE 161

THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL. *A Review* 163

EFFORTS TO WHITEWASH OPPORTUNISM 167

THE CHKHEIDZE FACTION AND ITS ROLE 171

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

1917

BOURGEOIS PACIFISM AND SOCIALIST PACIFISM 175

Article (*or Chapter*) *I*. The Turn in World Politics . . . 177
Article (*or Chapter*) *II*. The Pacifism of Kautsky and Turati 181
Article (*or Chapter*) *III*. The Pacifism of the French Socialists and Syndicalists 186
Article (*or Chapter*) *IV*. Zimmerwald at the Crossroads . 191

AN OPEN LETTER TO BORIS SOUVARINE. 195

THESES FOR AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE AND ALL SOCIALIST PARTIES. *Rough Draft* 205

A LETTER TO V. A. KARPINSKY 217

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES NAINE, MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE IN BERNE 220

TO THE WORKERS WHO SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR AND AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS WHO HAVE SIDED WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS 229

LECTURE ON THE 1905 REVOLUTION 236

TWELVE BRIEF THESES ON H. GREULICH'S DEFENCE OF FATHERLAND DEFENCE 254

DEFENCE OF NEUTRALITY 260

A TURN IN WORLD POLITICS 262

STATISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY 271

Foreword 271
Historical Background to National Movements 271

Chapter I. A Few Statistics 273

I 273
II 276

IMAGINARY OR REAL MARSH? 278

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE WAR ISSUE 282

THE STORY OF ONE SHORT PERIOD IN THE LIFE OF ONE SOCIALIST PARTY. 283

DRAFT THESES, MARCH 4 (17), 1817. 287

TELEGRAM TO THE BOLSHEVIKS LEAVING FOR RUSSIA. 292

LETTER TO VOLKSRECHT 293

LETTERS FROM AFAR 295

Letters from Afar. First Letter. The First Stage of the First Revolution 297
Letters from Afar. Second Letter. The New Government and the Proletariat 309
Letters from Afar. Third Letter. Concerning a Proletarian Militia 320
Letters from Afar. Fourth Letter. How To Achieve Peace . 333
Letters from Afar. Fifth Letter. The Tasks Involved in the Building of the Revolutionary Proletarian State 340

TO OUR COMRADES IN WAR-PRISONER CAMPS 343

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES 350

THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. *Report of a lecture* . . . 355

TRICKS OF THE REPUBLICAN CHAUVINISTS. 362

DECISION OF THE COLLEGIUM ABROAD, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 365

FAREWELL LETTER TO THE SWISS WORKERS 367

Notes 375

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 421

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin.—1917 12-13

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "Letters from Afar. Second Letter. The New Government and the Proletariat". March 22 (9), 1917 308-09

First page of the leaflet, "To Our Comrades in War-Prisoner Camps". 1917 345

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
24

April – June 1917

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 17

April-June 1917

THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT REVOLUTION 19

Theses 21

HOW WE ARRIVED 27

TWO WORLDS 30

NOTES FOR AN ARTICLE OR SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE APRIL THESES 32

BLANCISM 34

THE DUAL POWER 38

LETTERS ON TACTICS 42

Foreword 42

First Letter. Assessment of the Present Situation 43

THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION. *Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party* 55

The Class Character of the Revolution That Has Taken Place 57

The Foreign Policy of the New Government 58

The Peculiar Nature of the Dual Power and Its Class Significance 60

The Peculiar Nature of the Tactics Which Follow from the Above 62

Revolutionary Defencism and Its Class Significance . . . 64
How Can the War Be Ended? 66
A New Type of State Emerging from Our Revolution . . 67
The Agrarian and National Programmes 71
Nationalisation of the Banks and Capitalist Syndicates 73
The Situation Within the Socialist International 74
The Collapse of the Zimmerwald International.—The Need for Founding a Third International 80
What Should Be the Name of Our Party—One That Will Be Correct Scientifically and Help to Clarify the Mind of the Proletariat Politically? 84
Postscript 89

POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUSSIA AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT 93

Preface to the Second Edition 95

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF SOLDIERS OF THE IZMAILOVSKY REGIMENT. APRIL 10 (23), 1917 107

A SHAMELESS LIE OF THE CAPITALISTS 110

THE WAR AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT 112

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF *RUSSKAYA VOLYA* 115

A PARTNERSHIP OF LIES 118

BANKS AND MINISTERS 122

AN IMPORTANT EXPOSURE 123

TO THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS 124

AGAINST THE RIOT-MONGERS. *To the Workers, Soldiers, and the Whole Population of Petrograd* 127

CITIZENS! SEE WHAT METHODS THE CAPITALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE USING! 131

A "VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT" BETWEEN LANDOWNERS AND PEASANTS? 134

AN HONEST VOICE IN A CHORUS OF SLANDERERS 135

THE SOLDIERS AND THE LAND 137

THE PETROGRAD CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS), April 14-22 (April 27-May 5), 1917 139

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

1. REPORT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. APRIL 14 (27) 141

2. CONCLUDING REMARKS IN THE DEBATE CONCERNING THE REPORT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION. APRIL 14 (27) 148

3. TWO REMARKS DURING THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. APRIL 15 (28) 152

4. RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. 154

5. TWO REMARKS DURING THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. APRIL 22 (MAY 5) 156

6. RESOLUTION ON THE MUNICIPAL QUESTION 158

7. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES. THE MENSHEVIK SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE "NON-FACTIONAL" SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND OTHER KINDRED POLITICAL TRENDS 159

8. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE WAR 161

I 161

II 162

III 163

CONGRESS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES 167

ON THE RETURN OF THE EMIGRANTS 171

OUR VIEWS. *A Reply to the Resolution of the Executive Commission of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies* 172

HOW THEY TIED THEMSELVES TO THE CAPITALISTS 176

A PROLETARIAN MILITIA 179

BANKRUPTCY? 183

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) OF APRIL 20 (MAY 3), 1917 ON THE CRISIS CAUSED BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT'S NOTE OF APRIL 18 (MAY 1), 1917. 184

APPEAL TO THE SOLDIERS OF ALL THE BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES 186

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT'S NOTE 189

A BASIC QUESTION *A Line of Argument Used by Socialists Who Have Gone Over to the Bourgeoisie*. 192

ICONS VERSUS CANNONS, PHRASES VERSUS CAPITAL 196

THE LOGIC OF CITIZEN V. CHERNOV 198

MR. PLEKHANOV'S FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO EXTRICATE HIMSELF 199

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) ADOPTED APRIL 21 (MAY 4), 1917 201

HONEST DEFENCISM REVEALS ITSELF 204

MAD CAPITALISTS OR WEAK-MINDED SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS? . . . 207

THE ADVICE OR ORDER OF SHINGARYOV, AND THE ADVICE OF A LOCAL SOVIET 209

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) ADOPTED IN THE MORNING OF APRIL 22 (MAY 5), 1917 210

LESSONS OF THE CRISIS 213

HOW A SIMPLE QUESTION CAN BE CONFUSED 217

"DISGRACE" AS THE CAPITALISTS AND THE PROLETARIANS UNDERSTAND IT 220

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO E. TORNTAINEN. APRIL 28 (MAY 6), 1917 222

FOOLISH GLOATING 223

THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). April 24-29 (May 7-12), 1917 225

1. SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE. APRIL 24 (MAY 7) 227
2. REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. APRIL 24 (MAY 7) 228
3. SPEECH WINDING UP THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. APRIL 24 (MAY 7). 244
4. SPEECH ON THE PROPOSAL TO CALL AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. APRIL 25 (MAY 8) 247
5. RESOLUTION ON BORGBJERG'S PROPOSAL 251
6. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SOVIETS. APRIL 26 (MAY 8). *Brief Press Report* 254
7. DRAFT THESES TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE SOVIETS 255
8. SPEECH IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE WAR. APRIL 27 (MAY 10) 257

9. RESOLUTION ON THE WAR 270
I 270
II 271
III 272
10. RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT 274
11. REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF REVISING THE PARTY PROGRAMME. APRIL 28 (MAY 11) 277
12. RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF REVISING THE PARTY PROGRAMME 280
13. REPORT ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. APRIL 28 (MAY 11) 282
14. REJOINDER TO N. S. ANGARSKY DURING THE DEBATE ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. APRIL 28 (MAY 11) 288
15. RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION 290
16. RESOLUTION ON UNITING THE INTERNATIONALISTS AGAINST THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS DEFENCIST BLOC 294
17. RESOLUTION ON THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES 295
18. SPEECH ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. APRIL 29 (MAY 12) 297
19. RESOLUTION ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION 302
20. SPEECH ON THE SITUATION WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE TASKS OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). APRIL 29 (MAY 12) 304
21. SPEECH IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. APRIL 29 (MAY 12) 305
22. RESOLUTION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION 309
23. CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE. APRIL 29 (MAY 12) 313
INTRODUCTION TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) 314
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRATERNISATION 318
WHAT THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STEPS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT LEAD TO 321
SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND INTERNATIONALISTS 324

I. G. TSERETELI AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE 326

ANXIETY 330

THE "CRISIS OF POWER" 332

FINLAND AND RUSSIA 335

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS 339

DEFENCE OF IMPERIALISM CLOAKED WITH SPECIOUS PHRASES 340

AN UNFORTUNATE DOCUMENT 343

FRIGHTENING THE PEOPLE WITH BOURGEOIS TERRORS 346

ON THE EVE 349

THEY HAVE FORGOTTEN THE MAIN THING. *The Municipal Platform of the Proletarian Party* 350

MANDATE TO DEPUTIES OF THE SOVIET ELECTED AT FACTORIES AND REGIMENTS 354

CLASS COLLABORATION WITH CAPITAL, OR CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITAL? 357

A STRONG REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 360

TITBITS FOR THE NEWBORN GOVERNMENT 362

ALREADY THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS LAGGING BEHIND EVEN THE PEASANT MASS, LEAVE ALONE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS 365

STEALING A MARCH ON THE WORKERS 367

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES 370

THE "VIRTUAL ARMISTICE" 375

SECRETS OF FOREIGN POLICY 378

ONE OF THE SECRET TREATIES 380

MINISTERIAL TONE 382

IN SEARCH OF A NAPOLEON 383

NOTHING HAS CHANGED 384

A REGRETTABLE DEVIATION FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY 385

ON THE QUESTION OF CONVENING AN INTERNATIONAL, SO-CALLED SOCIALIST CONFERENCE JOINTLY WITH THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS 388

SPEECH AT A MEETING AT THE PUTILOV WORKS. MAY 12 (25) 1917. *Brief Newspaper Report*. 389

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY AT THE DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS 390

STATEMENTS ABOUT THE WAR MADE BY OUR PARTY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION 393

IMPENDING DEBACLE 395

WAR AND REVOLUTION. *A Lecture Delivered May 14 (27), 1917* 398

DESPICABLE METHODS. 422

INEVITABLE CATASTROPHE AND EXTRAVAGANT PROMISES 424

(Article One) 424

(Article Two) 427

THE QUESTION OF UNITING THE INTERNATIONALISTS 431

MUDDLEHEADEDNESS. *More on the Subject of Annexations* 433

COMBATING ECONOMIC CHAOS BY A SPATE OF COMMISSIONS 436

ONE MORE DEPARTURE FROM DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES 437

HOW THE CAPITALISTS ARE TRYING TO SCARE THE PEOPLE 439

ONE MORE CRIME OF THE CAPITALISTS 441

STILL MORE LIES 443

LETTER TO THE EDITORS 444

HAS DUAL POWER DISAPPEARED? 445

ON THE UNAUTHORISED SEIZURE OF LAND. *Flimsy Arguments of the Socialist-Revolutionaries* 449

MATERIALS RELATING TO THE REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME 455

1. *PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET MATERIALS RELATING TO THE REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME* 457

2. PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE DOCTRINAL, POLITICAL AND OTHER SECTIONS OF THE PROGRAMME 459

3. COMMENTS ON THE REMARKS MADE BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE APRIL ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE 464

4. DRAFT OF REVISED PROGRAMME 466

FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, May 4-28 (May 17-June 10), 1917 481

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION 483

2. SPEECH ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. MAY 22 (JUNE 4), 1917 486

PARTIES IN THE PETROGRAD DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS 506

TWO SHORTCOMINGS 512

RESOLUTION ON MEASURES TO COPE WITH ECONOMIC DISORGANISATION 513

A DEAL WITH THE CAPITALISTS OR OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALISTS? *How to End the War* 516

THE CHAIN IS NO STRONGER THAN ITS WEAKEST LINK . . . 519

THE CAPITALISTS MUST BE EXPOSED 521

REPORTS ON THE ECONOMIC DEBACLE 523

"SLEIGHT OF HAND" AND UNPRINCIPLED POLITICIANS 527

THE DARK FORCES ARE FOR THE CADETS, THE MENSHEVIKS AND NARODNIKS ARE IN ONE GOVERNMENT WITH THE CADETS 529

THE SHAMEFUL MENSHEVIK-NARODNIK BLOC WITH *YEDINSTVO* 531

COUNTER-REVOLUTION TAKES THE OFFENSIVE. "*Jacobins Without the People*" 533

A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE. "*Forgotten Words*" *of Democracy* 536

FOR LACK OF A CLEAN PRINCIPLED WEAPON THEY SNATCH AT A DIRTY ONE 539

MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS). May 30 (June 12), 1917 541

1. SPEECH CONCERNING AN ORGAN OF THE PRESS FOR THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE 543

2. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED AT THE MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE 545

THE HARM OF PHRASE-MONGERING 546

CAPITALIST MOCKERY OF THE PEOPLE 549

LETTER TO THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) 552

SPEECH MADE AT THE FIRST PETROGRAD CONFERENCE OF SHOP COMMITTEES. MAY 31 (JUNE 13), 1917. *Brief Newspaper Report* 556

INFAMY JUSTIFIED 558

THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS STAND ON THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC DISORGANISATION 562

A MOTE IN THE EYE 565

IT IS UNDEMOCRATIC, CITIZEN KERENSKY 568

BOLSHEVISM AND "DEMORALISATION" OF THE ARMY 570

THE LAUGH IS ON YOU! 573

Notes 575

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 609

ILLUSTRATIONS

The cover of Lenin's pamphlet *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*. 1917 66-67

The first page of Lenin's manuscript "Draft Resolution on the Agrarian Question". May 1917 482-483

The front page of *Pravda* No. 64, for June 6 (May 24), 1917 featuring Lenin's article "Parties in the Petrograd District Council Elections" 507

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
25

June–September 1917

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

PREFACE 13

JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1917

FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES. JUNE 3-24 (JUNE 16-JULY 7), 1917 15

1. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, *June 4 (17)* 17
2. SPEECH ON THE WAR, *June 9 (22)* 29

ECONOMIC DISLOCATION AND THE PROLETARIAT'S STRUGGLE AGAINST IT 43

THE THOUSAND AND FIRST LIE OF THE CAPITALISTS 46

THE DIEHARDS OF JUNE 3 FAVOUR AN IMMEDIATE OFFENSIVE 48

AN ALLIANCE TO STOP THE REVOLUTION 51

GRATITUDE 54

IS THERE A WAY TO A JUST PEACE? 55

THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE. 57

NOTE 59

"THE GREAT WITHDRAWAL" 60

THE USE OF STICKING TO THE POINT IN POLEMICS 63

AN EPIDEMIC OF CREDULITY 65

A BIRD IN THE HAND OR TWO IN THE BUSH 67

INTRODUCTION OF SOCIALISM OR EXPOSURE OF PLUNDER OF THE STATE? 68

CONFUSED AND FRIGHTENED 70

INSINUATIONS 73

"RUMOURS AGITATING THE POPULATION" 75

A RIDDLE 76

DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE C.C. R.S.D.L.P.(B.) AND THE BUREAU OF THE BOLSHEVIK GROUP TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS REGARDING THE BAN ON THE DEMONSTRATION 77

SPEECH ON THE CANCELLATION OF THE DEMONSTRATION, DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), *June 11 (24), 1917* 79

THE TURNING-POINT 82

LETTER TO THE EDITOR 84

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 85

A CONTRADICTORY STAND 88

THE UKRAINE 91

THE CLASS ORIGINS OF PRESENT-DAY AND "FUTURE" CAVAIGNACS 93

HOW TO FIGHT COUNTER-REVOLUTION 97

THE UKRAINE AND THE DEFEAT OF THE RULING PARTIES OF RUSSIA 99

PROSECUTE RODZYANKO AND JUNKOVSKY FOR CONCEALING AN AGENT PROVOCATEUR! 103

STRANGE MISQUOTATIONS 104

RULING AND RESPONSIBLE PARTIES 105

ANOTHER COMMISSION. 108

THE EIGHTEENTH OF JUNE 110

THE REVOLUTION, THE OFFENSIVE, AND OUR PARTY 113

IN WHAT WAY DO YOU SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY AND MENSHEVIK GENTLEMEN DIFFER FROM PLEKHANOV? 116

HOW RODZYANKO IS TRYING TO JUSTIFY HIMSELF 117

TO WHAT STATE HAVE THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE MENSHEVIKS BROUGHT THE REVOLUTION? 118

CAN "JACOBINISM" FRIGHTEN THE WORKING CLASS? 121

THE NEED FOR AN AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' UNION IN RUSSIA 123

Article One 123
Article Two 125

A DISORDERLY REVOLUTION 128

A CLASS SHIFT. 131

MIRACLES OF REVOLUTIONARY ENERGY. 134

PHRASES AND FACTS 137
HOW THE CAPITALISTS CONCEAL THEIR PROFITS, *Concerning the Issue of Control* 140
CRISIS IS APPROACHING, DISLOCATION IS INCREASING 142
JUST HOW IS IT TO BE DONE? 145
HOW AND WHY THE PEASANTS WERE DECEIVED 148
WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? 151
WHAT COULD THE CADETS HAVE COUNTED ON WHEN THEY WITHDREW FROM THE CABINET? 153
ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS! 155
WHERE IS STATE POWER AND WHERE IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION? 157
FOUL SLANDER BY ULTRA-REACTIONARY NEWSPAPERS AND ALEXINSKY 162
SLANDER AND FACTS 163
CLOSE TO THE TRUTH 165
A NEW DREYFUS CASE? 166
APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) 167
DREYFUSIAD 168
IN REFUTATION OF SINISTER RUMOURS 170
THREE CRISES 171
THE QUESTION OF THE BOLSHEVIK LEADERS APPEARING IN COURT 176
THE POLITICAL SITUATION 178
LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *NOVAYA ZHIZN* 181
LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *PROLETARSKOYE DYELO*. . . . 183
ON SLOGANS 185
OUR THANKS TO PRINCE G. Y. LVOV 193
CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS 196
I 197
II 201
III 204
AN ANSWER 211
I 211
II 219
III 221

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

THE BEGINNING OF BONAPARTISM 223

LESSONS OF THE REVOLUTION 227

I 229
II 231
III 232
IV 234
V 234
VI 236
VII 239
VIII 241
IX 242

Afterword 243

KAMENEV'S SPEECH IN THE C.E.C. ON THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE 244

RUMOURS OF A CONSPIRACY 247

THEY DO NOT SEE THE WOOD FOR THE TREES 255

POLITICAL BLACKMAIL 261

PAPER RESOLUTIONS 265

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE 269

FROM A PUBLICIST'S DIARY. *Peasants and Workers* 278

SLANDERERS 287

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 289

FROM A PUBLICIST'S DIARY. 294

1. The Root of the Evil 294
2. Corvée and Socialism 302

CONCERNING THE PARTY PROGRAMME 305

ON ZIMMERWALD 307

VIOLATIONS OF DEMOCRACY IN MASS ORGANISATIONS 308

ON COMPROMISES 309

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION 315

THE IMPENDING CATASTROPHE AND HOW TO COMBAT IT 323

Famine Is Approaching 327
Complete Government Inactivity 329
Control Measures Are Known to All and Easy to Take 331

Nationalisation of the Banks 333
Nationalisation of the Syndicates 339
Abolition of Commercial Secrecy. 342
Compulsory Association 346
Regulation of Consumption 350
Government Disruption of the Work of the Democratic Organisations 353
Financial Collapse and Measures to Combat It 357
Can We Go Forward If We Fear to Advance Towards Socialism? 360
The Struggle Against Economic Chaos—and the War . . 364
The Revolutionary Democrats and the Revolutionary Proletariat 367

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF THE REVOLUTION 370

HOW TO GUARANTEE THE SUCCESS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. *On Freedom of the Press* 378

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION. *The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution.* . . 385

Preface to the First Edition 387

Preface to the Second Edition. 389

Chapter I. Class Society and the State 390

1. The State—a Product of the Irreconcilability of Class Antagonisms 390
2. Special Bodies of Armed Men, Prisons, etc. 393
3. The State—an Instrument for the Exploitation of the Oppressed Class 396
4. The "Withering Away" of the State, and Violent Revolution 400

Chapter II. The State and Revolution. The Experience of 1848-51 406

1. The Eve of the Revolution 406
2. The Revolution Summed Up 410
3. The Presentation of the Question by Marx in 1852 416

Chapter III. The State and Revolution. Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx's Analysis 418

1. What Made the Communards' Attempt Heroic? 418
2. What Is to Replace the Smashed State Machine? 422
3. Abolition of Parliamentarism 427

4. Organisation of National Unity 432
5. Abolition of the Parasite State 435

Chapter IV. Continuation. Supplementary Explanations by Engels 437

1. The Housing Question 438
2. Controversy with the Anarchists 440
3. Letter to Bebel 444
4. Criticism of the Draft of the Erfurt Programme 447
5. The 1891 Preface to Marx's *The Civil War in France* 454
6. Engels on the Overcoming of Democracy . . . 459

Chapter V. The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State 461

1. Presentation of the Question by Marx 462
2. The Transition from Capitalism to Communism 464
3. The First Phase of Communist Society 469
4. The Higher Phase of Communist Society . . . 473

Chapter VI. The Vulgarisation of Marxism by the Opportunists 480

1. Plekhanov's Controversy with the Anarchists 480
2. Kautsky's Controversy with the Opportunists 481
3. Kautsky's Controversy with Pannekoek . . . 488

Postscript to the First Edition 497

Notes 499

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 541

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of the manuscript "Rumours of a Conspiracy", August 1917 249

First page of the letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., August 30 (September 12), 1917 291

First page of the manuscript *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, September 10-14 (23-27), 1917 325

First page of the manuscript *The State and Revolution*, August-September 1917 386-387

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
26

September 1917–February 1918

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 17

September-December 1917

THE BOLSHEVIKS MUST ASSUME POWER. *A Letter to the Central Committee and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)* 19

MARXISM AND INSURRECTION. *A Letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)*. 22

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR. *They Are Trying to Frighten Us with Civil War* 28

HEROES OF FRAUD AND THE MISTAKES OF THE BOLSHEVIKS . . 43

FROM A PUBLICIST'S DIARY. *The Mistakes of Our Party* . . . 52

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTION 59

- Agreements with the Capitalists Are Disastrous. 61
- Power to the Soviets. 61
- Peace to the Peoples. 62
- Land to Those Who Till It 64
- Struggle Against Famine and Economic Ruin. 64
- Struggle Against the Counter-Revolution of the Landowners and Capitalists 66
- Peaceful Development of the Revolution. 67

LETTER TO I. T. SMILGA, CHAIRMAN OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE ARMY, NAVY AND WORKERS OF FINLAND 69

- 1 69
- 2 70
- 3 71
- 4 71

5 72
6 72
7 72
8 73
9 73
10 73

THE CRISIS HAS MATURED 74

I 74
II 77
III 79
IV 81
V 81
VI 82

CAN THE BOLSHEVIKS RETAIN STATE POWER? 87

Foreword to the Second Edition 89
Afterword 131

TO WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS! 137

LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW AND PETROGRAD COMMITTEES AND THE BOLSHEVIK MEMBERS OF THE PETROGRAD AND MOSCOW SOVIETS 140

THESES FOR A REPORT AT THE OCTOBER 8 CONFERENCE OF THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATION, ALSO FOR A RESOLUTION AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THOSE ELECTED TO THE PARTY CONGRESS. 142

On the Question of the Party's Participation in the Pre-parliament 142
On the Slogan "All Power to the Soviets" 143
Note to the Resolution on Power to the Soviets 144

LETTER TO THE PETROGRAD CITY CONFERENCE. *To Be Read in Closed Session* 145

REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME 149

I 151
II 155
III 158
IV 161
V 163
VI 168
VII 169
VIII 173
IX 176

ADVICE OF AN ONLOOKER 179

LETTER TO THE BOLSHEVIK COMRADES ATTENDING THE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE NORTHERN REGION 182

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), OCTOBER 10 (23), 1917 188

1. Report. Minutes 188
2. Resolution 190

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), OCTOBER 16 (29), 1917 191

1. Report. Minutes 191
2. Speeches in Discussion. Minutes 192
   1 192
   2 193
   3 193
3. Resolution 193

LETTER TO COMRADES 195

Postscript 214

LETTER TO BOLSHEVIK PARTY MEMBERS 216

THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY IN THE INTERNATIONAL. *Apropos of the Third Zimmerwald Conference* 220

LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) 223

SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY CHEATS THE PEASANTS ONCE AGAIN 228

LETTER TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS 234

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA! 236

MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES, OCTOBER 25 (NOVEMBER 7), 1917 239

1. REPORT ON THE TASKS OF THE SOVIET POWER. *Newspaper Report* 239
2. RESOLUTION 241

SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES, October 25-26 (November 7-8), 1917 243

1. TO WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS! 247
2. REPORT ON PEACE, OCTOBER 26 (NOVEMBER 8) 249
   Decree on Peace 249
3. CONCLUDING SPEECH FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT ON PEACE, OCTOBER 26 (NOVEMBER 8) 254
4. REPORT ON LAND, OCTOBER 26 (NOVEMBER 8) 257
   Decree on Land 258

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

5. DECISION TO FORM THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT 262

DRAFT REGULATIONS ON WORKERS' CONTROL 264

DIRECT-LINE CONVERSATION WITH HELSINGFORS, OCTOBER 27 (NOVEMBER 9), 1917 266

1. CONVERSATION WITH A. L. SHEINMAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE HELSINGFORS SOVIET OF DEPUTIES OF THE ARMY, NAVY AND WORKERS OF FINLAND 266
2. CONVERSATION WITH MIKHAILOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE ARMY, NAVY AND WORKERS OF FINLAND 267
3. CONVERSATION WITH N. F. IZMAILOV, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF TSENTROBALT 268

CONFERENCE OF REGIMENTAL DELEGATES OF THE PETROGRAD GARRISON, OCTOBER 29 (NOVEMBER 11), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 270

1. REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION 270
2. SPEECH ON ARMING THE TROOPS 272
3. SPEECH ON RESTORING LAW AND ORDER IN THE CITY 273

WIRELESS MESSAGE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, OCTOBER 30 (NOVEMBER 12), 1917 274

DRAFT RULES FOR OFFICE EMPLOYEES 275

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), NOVEMBER 1(14), 1917. *Minutes* 276

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) ON THE OPPOSITION WITHIN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 2 (15), 1917 277

ULTIMATUM FROM THE MAJORITY ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) TO THE MINORITY 280

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS 283

MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 4 (17), 1917 285

1. SPEECH ON THE PRESS 285
2. REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM THE LEFT SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES 288
3. SPEECHES CONCERNING THE LEFT SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES' QUESTION 290

I 290

II 291

4. SPEECH AND RESOLUTION ON THE RESIGNATION OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS FROM THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS 292

SPEECH AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES AND DELEGATES FROM THE FRONTS, NOVEMBER 4 (17), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 294

TO THE POPULATION 297

REPLY TO QUESTIONS FROM PEASANTS 300

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) 302

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS). *To All Party Members and to All the Working Classes of Russia* 304

DIRECT-LINE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND FIELD H. Q., NOVEMBER 9 (22), 1917 309

WIRELESS MESSAGE. *To All Regimental, Divisional, Corps, Army and Other Committees, to All Soldiers of the Revolutionary Army and Sailors of the Revolutionary Navy* . . . 312

FOREWORD TO THE PAMPHLET. *HOW THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES CHEATED THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT THE NEW BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN THE PEOPLE* 314

MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 10 (23), 1917 316
1. REPORT ON TALKS WITH DUKHONIN 316
2. CONCLUDING SPEECH 318

FROM THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COMMITTEE 320

THE EXTRAORDINARY ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, November 10-25 (November 23-December 8), 1917 321
1. STATEMENT TO THE BOLSHEVIK GROUP AT THE EXTRAORDINARY ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES 323
2. SPEECH ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION, NOVEMBER 14 (27). *Newspaper Report* 324
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION 327
4. SPEECH IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATEMENT OF A VIKZHEL SPOKESMAN, NOVEMBER 18 (DECEMBER 1). *Newspaper Report* 329
5. CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION, NOVEMBER 18 (DECEMBER 1). *Newspaper Report* 331

ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE WORKING AND EXPLOITED PEASANTS. *A Letter to "Pravda"* 333

DRAFT DECREE ON THE RIGHT OF RECALL. 336

REPORT ON THE RIGHT OF RECALL AT A MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 21 (DECEMBER 4), 1917 338

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE NAVY, NOVEMBER 22 (DECEMBER 5), 1917. *Minutes* 341

FOREWORD TO THE PAMPHLET, *MATERIAL ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION* 347

OUTLINE PROGRAMME FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS 349

DECREE ON THE ARREST OF THE LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE REVOLUTION 351

THE TASKS OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY IN PETROGRAD 352

MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 1 (14), 1917 353

1. SPEECH ON THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 353
2. RESOLUTION ON THE DECREE CONCERNING THE CADET PARTY 356

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, DECEMBER 2 (15), 1917 357

MANIFESTO TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE WITH AN ULTIMATUM TO THE UKRAINIAN RADA 361

REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF PETROGRAD WORKERS AND THE TASKS OF THE WORKING CLASS. DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE WORKERS' SECTION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES, DECEMBER 4 (17), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 364

ON THE OPENING OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 367

DRAFT OF A MANIFESTO TO THE PEASANTRY FROM THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF PEASANTS' DEPUTIES 368

NOTE TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY WITH A DRAFT OF A DECREE ON FIGHTING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES AND SABOTEURS 374

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), DECEMBER 11 (24), 1917. *Minutes* 377

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PROVISIONAL BUREAU OF THE BOLSHEVIK GROUP IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 378

THESES ON THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 379

SPEECH AT THE EXTRAORDINARY ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF RAILWAYMEN, DECEMBER 13 (26), 1917 384

FOR BREAD AND PEACE 386

SPEECH ON THE NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 14 (27), 1917. *Minutes* 388

DRAFT DECREE ON THE NATIONALISATION OF THE BANKS AND ON MEASURES NECESSARY FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION 391

QUESTIONS TO DELEGATES TO THE ARMY CONGRESS ON THE DEMOBILISATION OF THE ARMY 395

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS 397

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RADA 398

FEAR OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE OLD AND THE FIGHT FOR THE NEW 400

HOW TO ORGANISE COMPETITION? 404

DRAFT DECREE ON CONSUMERS' COMMUNES 416

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE RADA'S REPLY TO THE C.P.C. 418

January-February 1918

SPEECH AT THE SEND-OFF OF THE SOCIALIST ARMY'S FIRST TROOP TRAINS, JANUARY 1 (14), 1918. *Newspaper Report* . . . 420

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE WORKING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE 423

LETTER TO THE ARMY CONGRESS ON THE DEMOBILISATION OF THE ARMY 426

DIRECT-LINE CONVERSATION WITH L. D. TROTSKY, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET PEACE DELEGATION AT BREST-LITOVSK, JANUARY 3 (16) 1918 427

RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 3 (16) 1918 428

DECLARATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) GROUP AT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MEETING, JANUARY 5 (18), 1918 429

PEOPLE FROM ANOTHER WORLD 431

DRAFT DECREE ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 434

SPEECH ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DELIVERED TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 6 (19), 1918 437

ON THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE PEACE 442
Theses on the Question of the Immediate Conclusion of a Separate and Annexationist Peace 442

AFTERWORD TO THE THESES ON THE QUESTION OF THE IMMEDIATE CONCLUSION OF A SEPARATE AND ANNEXATIONIST PEACE 451

THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, JANUARY 10-18 (23-31), 1918 453
1. REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, JANUARY 11 (24) 455
2. CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, JANUARY 12 (25) 473
3. DRAFT DECREE ON EXPUNGING REFERENCES TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FROM SOVIET LEGISLATION 478
4. SUMMING-UP SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS, JANUARY 18 (31) 479

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE RED GUARD H. Q. 483

EXTRAORDINARY ALL-RUSSIA RAILWAYMEN'S CONGRESS, JANUARY 5-30 (JANUARY 18-FEBRUARY 12), 1918 484
1. REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, JANUARY 13 (26) 484
2. REPLIES TO NOTES 497

MEETING OF PRESIDIUM OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET WITH DELEGATES FROM FOOD SUPPLY ORGANISATIONS, JANUARY 14 (27), 1918 501
1. ON COMBATING THE FAMINE 501
I 501
II 501
2. DRAFT RESOLUTION 503

DRAFT DECREE ON THE NATIONALISATION OF THE MERCHANT MARINE AND INLAND WATER TRANSPORT 505
1. DRAFT DECREE 505
2. ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT 506

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), JANUARY 19 (FEBRUARY 1), 1918. *Minutes* 507
1 507
2 508
3 508
4 508

5 508
6 508

WIRELESS MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO ALL. SPECIAL TO THE PEACE DELEGATION IN BREST-LITOVSK 510

WIRELESS MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO ALL 511

SPEECH TO PROPAGANDISTS ON THEIR WAY TO THE PROVINCES, JANUARY 23 (FEBRUARY 5), 1918. *Newspaper Report* 512

TROTSKY. RUSSIAN PEACE DELEGATION. BREST-LITOVSK. *Reply* 517

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE LAND COMMITTEE CONGRESS AND THE PEASANT SECTION OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, JANUARY 28 (FEBRUARY 10), 1918. *Newspaper Report* 518

STATEMENTS MADE AT THE MORNING SITTING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), FEBRUARY 18, 1918. *Minutes* 520

SPEECHES AT THE EVENING SITTING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), FEBRUARY 18, 1918. *Minutes* 522
1 522
2 523

DRAFT WIRELESS MESSAGE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN REICH 525

DIRECT-LINE CONVERSATION WITH THE MOSCOW SOVIET, FEBRUARY 20, 1918 526

Notes 527

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 579

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of the newspaper *Rabochy Put* No. 30, October 20 (7), 1917, in which Lenin's article "The Crisis Has Matured" was published 75

Facsimile of the manuscript of "To the Citizens of Russia!" written by Lenin on October 25 (November 7), 1917 237

First page of the newspaper *Rabochy i Soldat* No. 9, October 26 (November 8), 1917 245

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "How to Organise Competition?". December 1917 405

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People". Early January 1918 . . . 421

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
27

February–July 1918

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 15

February-July 1918

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHRASE 19

THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND IS IN DANGER! 30

SUPPLEMENT TO THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS: "THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND IS IN DANGER!" . . 34

THE ITCH 36

PEACE OR WAR? 40

SPEECH AT THE JOINT MEETING OF THE BOLSHEVIK AND "LEFT" SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C., FEBRUARY 23, 1918 *Newspaper Report* 42

REPORT AT THE MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C., FEBRUARY 24, 1918 43

WHERE IS THE MISTAKE? 48

AN UNFORTUNATE PEACE 51

SPEECHES AT THE MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.), FEBRUARY 24, 1918. *Minutes* 53

NOTE ON THE NECESSITY OF SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY . . . 57

POSITION OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) ON THE QUESTION OF THE SEPARATE AND ANNEXATIONIST PEACE . . . 58

A PAINFUL BUT NECESSARY LESSON 62

DRAFT DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE EVACUATION OF THE GOVERNMENT 67

STRANGE AND MONSTROUS 68

ON A BUSINESSLIKE BASIS 76

DRAFT OF AN ORDER TO ALL SOVIETS 78

A SERIOUS LESSON AND A SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY 79

EXTRAORDINARY SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MARCH 6-8, 1918 85

1. POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MARCH 7 87

2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MARCH 8 110

3. RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE 118

4. SPEECHES AGAINST TROTSKY'S AMENDMENTS TO THE RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE, MARCH 8 (MORNING) 120

I 120
II 121

5. SPEECH AGAINST THE STATEMENT OF THE "LEFT COMMUNIST" GROUP IN SUPPORT OF TROTSKY'S AMENDMENT, MARCH 8 122

6. ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE, MARCH 8 123

7. SPEECH AGAINST ZINOVIEV'S AMENDMENT TO THE ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE, MARCH 8 124

8. PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE, MARCH 8 125

I 125
II 125

9. REPORT ON THE REVIEW OF THE PROGRAMME AND ON CHANGING THE NAME OF THE PARTY, MARCH 8 . . . 126

10. RESOLUTION ON CHANGING THE NAME OF THE PARTY AND THE PARTY PROGRAMME 140

11. PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME, MARCH 8 (EVENING) 142

12. SPEECH ON MGELADZE'S PROPOSAL FOR DRAWING THE CHIEF PARTY ORGANISATION INTO THE WORK OF DRAFTING THE PARTY PROGRAMME, MARCH 8 (EVENING) 144

13. SPEECH AGAINST LARIN'S AMENDMENT TO THE NAME OF THE PARTY, MARCH 8 (EVENING) 145

14. SPEECH AGAINST PELSHE'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME, MARCH 8 (EVENING) 146

15. SPEECH AGAINST BUKHARIN'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME, MARCH 8 . . 147

I 147
II 148

16. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF ELECTIONS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MARCH 8 (EVENING) 149

17. RESOLUTION ON THE REFUSAL OF THE "LEFT COMMUNISTS" TO BE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE 151

18. ROUGH OUTLINE OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 152

THE CHIEF TASK OF OUR DAY 159

SPEECH IN THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, MARCH 12, 1918. *Verbatim Report* 164

EXTRAORDINARY FOURTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, MARCH 14-16, 1918 169

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WILSON'S MESSAGE. 171

2. REPORT ON RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY, MARCH 14. 172

3. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY, MARCH 15 191

4. RESOLUTION ON RATIFICATION OF THE BREST TREATY 200

COMMENT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE "LEFT COMMUNISTS" . . 202

ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE ARTICLE "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT". *Verbatim Report* 203

Chapter X 203
Chapter XI 209
Chapter XII 213
Chapter XIII 217

CONCERNING THE DECREE ON REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNALS 219

A. To Members of the Collegium of the Commissariat for Justice, and a Copy to the Chairman of the C.E.C. . . 219

B. Draft Decision on the Council of People's Commissars 219

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

PREFACE TO THE COLLECTED ARTICLES *AGAINST THE STREAM* 221

THESES ON BANKING POLICY 222

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN THE ALEXEYEVSKY RIDING SCHOOL, APRIL 7, 1918. *Newspaper Report* 224

DIRECTIVES TO THE VLADIVOSTOK SOVIET 226

SPEECH ON THE FINANCIAL QUESTION AT THE SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C., APRIL 18, 1918 227

SPEECH IN THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, APRIL 23, 1918. *Verbatim Report* . . 229

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 235

The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Tasks of the Socialist Revolution 237
The General Slogan of the Moment 243
The New Phase of the Struggle Against the Bourgeoisie 244
The Significance of the Struggle for Country-wide Accounting and Control 253
Raising the Productivity of Labour 257
The Organisation of Competition. 259
"Harmonious Organisation" and Dictatorship 263
The Development of Soviet organisation 272
Conclusion 275

SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C., APRIL 29, 1918 279

1. REPORT ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 281

2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS 306

SIX THESES ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 314

BASIC PROPOSITIONS ON ECONOMIC AND ESPECIALLY ON BANKING POLICY 318

DRAFT PLAN OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL WORK 320

TO THE C.C., R.C.P. 322

"LEFT-WING" CHILDISHNESS AND THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS MENTALITY 323

I 325
II 329
III 333
IV 339
V 342
VI 351

DECISION OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. 355

MAIN PROPOSITIONS OF THE DECREE ON FOOD DICTATORSHIP 356

PROTEST TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE OCCUPATION OF THE CRIMEA 358

THESES ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION 360

I 360
II 361
III 361
IV 363
V 363

REPORT ON FOREIGN POLICY DELIVERED AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE MOSCOW SOVIET, MAY 14, 1918 365

REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION TO THE MOSCOW REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MAY 15, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 382

REPORT TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF FINANCIAL DEPARTMENTS OF SOVIETS, MAY 18, 1918 383

Centralisation of Finances 384
Income and Property Taxation 384
Labour Conscription 385
New Currency 386

LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ENTERPRISES TO BE NATIONALISED, MAY 18, 1918. . . 388

DRAFT OF A TELEGRAM TO THE PETROGRAD WORKERS MAY 21, 1918 390

ON THE FAMINE. *A Letter to the Workers of Petrograd* . . . 391

SPEECH AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMISSARS FOR LABOUR, MAY 22, 1918 399

THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES 404

I. Draft Decision of the Council of People's Commissars 404
II. Directives for the Commission 405

THESES ON THE CURRENT SITUATION 406

SPEECH AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF ECONOMIC COUNCILS, MAY 26, 1918. 408

APPEAL TO RAILWAY, WATER TRANSPORT AND METAL WORKERS 416

JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES AND THE TRADE UNIONS, JUNE 4, 1918 419

1. REPORT ON COMBATING THE FAMINE, JUNE 4, 1918 . . . 421

2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON COMBATING THE FAMINE, JUNE 4, 1918 440

3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON COMBATING THE FAMINE, JUNE 4, 1918 444

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONALIST TEACHERS, JUNE 5, 1918. *Brief Report* . . . 445

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN AND A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV 447

FOOD DETACHMENTS. *Speech at Workers' Meetings in Moscow, June 20, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 448

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN THE SOKOLNIKI CLUB, JUNE 21, 1918, *Brief Newspaper Report* 450

ORGANISATION OF FOOD DETACHMENTS. 454

FOURTH CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNION AND FACTORY COMMITTEES OF MOSCOW, JUNE 27-JULY 2, 1918 457

1. REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION, JUNE 27, 1918 459

2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION, JUNE 28, 1918 478

3. RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. 491

SPEECH AT A PUBIC MEETING IN SIMONOVSKY SUBDISTRICT, JUNE 28, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 492

PROPHETIC WORDS 494

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING IN THE ALEXEYEVSKY RIDING SCHOOL, JULY 2, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 500

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, JULY 3, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 502

FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', PEASANTS', SOLDIERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, JULY 4-10, 1918 505

1. REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, JULY 5, 1918 507

2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE, JULY 5, 1918 529

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN 533

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO AN *IZVESTIA* CORRESPONDENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE LEFT SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY REVOLT *Brief Report* 534

TO THE WORKERS OF PETROGRAD 536

SPEECH AND GOVERNMENT STATEMENT AT THE SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C., JULY 15, 1918 538

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN LEFORTOVO DISTRICT, JULY 19, 1918 542

TO ZINOVIEV, LASHEVICH AND STASOVA 544

REPORT DELIVERED AT A MOSCOW GUBERNIA CONFERENCE OF FACTORY COMMITTEES, JULY 23, 1918. *Newspaper Report* . . 545

CONVERSATION WITH J. V. STALIN BY DIRECT LINE, JULY 24, 1918 549

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING IN KHAMOVNIKI DISTRICT, JULY 26, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 551

BY DIRECT LINE TO ZINOVIEV, THE SMOLNY, PETROGRAD . . . 552

Notes 553

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 615

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin, 1918 18-19

The Decree "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!" written by Lenin on February 21, 1918 31

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Resolution on Changing the Name of the Party and the Party Programme". March 1918 140-41

First page of the manuscript of Lenin's "Theses on the Tasks of the Soviet Government in the Present Situation". March-April 1918 239

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
28

July 1918 – March 1919

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 13

1918

SPEECH AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET, FACTORY COMMITEES AND TRADE UNIONS OF MOSCOW, *July 29, 1918*. . . . 17

SPEECH AT A CONGRESS OF CHAIRMEN OF GUBERNIA SOVIETS, *July 30, 1918. Newspaper Report* 35

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE WARSAW REVOLUTIONARY REGIMENT, *August 2, 1918. Newspaper Report*. 38

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN BUTYRSKY DISTRICT, *August 2, 1918. Newspaper Report* 41

SPEECH AT A RALLY OF RED ARMY MEN AT KHODYNKA, *August 2, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 44

THESES ON THE FOOD QUESTION. *For the Commissariats of Food, Agriculture, the Supreme Economic Council, Finance, Trade and Industry* 45

ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION. *Draft Decision of the Council of People's Commissars* 48

LETTER TO YELETS WORKERS. 49

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN SOKOLNIKI DISTRICT. *August 9, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 52

COMRADE WORKERS, FORWARD TO THE LAST, DECISIVE FIGHT 54

DRAFT OF TELEGRAM TO ALL SOVIETS OF DEPUTIES CONCERNING THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE 59

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW PARTY COMMITTEE ON ORGANISING GROUPS OF SYMPATHISERS. *August 16, 1918. Minutes*. 60

LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS. 62

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN THE ALEXEYEV PEOPLE'S HOUSE, *August 23, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 76

SPEECH IN POLYTECHNICAL MUSEUM, *August 23, 1918* 79

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS ON EDUCATION, *August 28, 1918* 85

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN BASMANNY DISTRICT, *August 30, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 89

SPEECH AT A MEETING AT THE FORMER MICHELSON WORKS, *August 30, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 90

GREETINGS TO THE RED ARMY ON THE CAPTURE OF KAZAN 93

LETTER TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CONFERENCE OF PROLETARIAN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS . . . 94

TELEGRAM TO OFFICER CADETS IN PETROGRAD 95

THE CHARACTER OF OUR NEWSPAPERS 96

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR COUNCIL OF THE FIRST ARMY 99

LETTER TO RED ARMY MEN WHO TOOK PART IN THE CAPTURE OF KAZAN. 100

LETTER TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THE MOSCOW SOVIET AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS, *October 3, 1918* 101

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY 105

REPORT AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THE MOSCOW SOVIET, FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS, *October 22, 1918* 114

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET, FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS, *October 22, 1918* . 128

SPEECH AT A RALLY IN HONOUR OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION, *November 3, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* . . . 131

SPEECH AT A CEREMONIAL MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL AND MOSCOW TRADE UNION COUNCILS, *November 3, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 132

EXTRAORDINARY SIXTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', PEASANTS', COSSACKS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, November 6-9, 1918 135

1. SPEECH ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION, *November 6* 137

2. SPEECH ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, *November 8* 151

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF A MEMORIAL TO MARX AND ENGELS, *November 8, 1918* 165

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF A MEMORIAL PLAQUE TO THOSE WHO FELL IN THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, *November 8, 1918* . 167

SPEECH AT A RALLY AND CONCERT FOR THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION STAFF, *November 8, 1918* . . . 169

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF DELEGATES FROM THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES OF CENTRAL GUBERNIAS, *November 8, 1918* 171

TELEGRAM TO ALL SOVIETS OF DEPUTIES, TO EVERYONE . . . 179

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN, *November 19, 1918* 180

SPEECH AT A RALLY IN LENIN'S HONOUR, *November 20, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 183

THE VALUABLE ADMISSIONS OF PITIRIM SOROKIN 185

SPEECH ON RED OFFICERS' DAY, *November 24, 1918* 195

SPEECH DELIVERED TO A MEETING OF DELEGATES FROM THE MOSCOW CENTRAL WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE, *November 26, 1918* 196

MOSCOW PARTY WORKERS' MEETING, *November 27, 1918* . . . 201

1. REPORT ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAT TO PETTY-BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATS 201

2. REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION OF REPORT ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAT TO PETTY-BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATS 217

TELEGRAM TO COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF 225

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY 227

Preface 229

How Kautsky Turned Marx into a Common Liberal . . 231

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Bourgeois and Proletarian Democracy. 242
Can There Be Equality Between the Exploited and the Exploiter? 250
The Soviets Dare Not Become State Organisations . . . 257
The Constituent Assembly and the Soviet Republic . . . 263
The Soviet Constitution 271
What Is Internationalism? 280
Subservience to the Bourgeoisie in the Guise of "Economic Analysis". 294
Appendix I. Theses on the Constituent Assembly 319
Appendix II. Vandervelde's New Book on the State 319

DRAFT DECISION ON THE USE OF STATE CONTROL 326

SPEECH TO THE MOSCOW GUBERNIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES AND DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) *December 8, 1918. Brief Newspaper Report* 327

SPEECH TO THE THIRD WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, *December 9, 1918* 329

SPEECH TO THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF LAND DEPARTMENTS, POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES AND COMMUNES, *December 11, 1918* 338

ROUGH DRAFT OF RULES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOVIET INSTITUTIONS 349

1 349
2 350
3 351

DRAFT DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) 353

SPEECH AT A PRESNYA DISTRICT WORKERS' CONFERENCE, *December 14, 1918* 354

TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA UKRAINIANS 367

"DEMOCRACY" AND DICTATORSHIP 368

HEROISM OF THE PRESNYA WORKERS. 373

SPEECH TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF ECONOMIC COUNCILS, *December 25, 1918.* 375

TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS 382
I 382
II 382
III 383

A LITTLE PICTURE IN ILLUSTRATION OF BIG PROBLEMS. . . . 386

1919

TELEGRAM TO STALIN AND DZERZHINSKY 390

SPEECH AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET AND ALL-RUSSIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS, *January 17, 1919* 391

SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW CITY CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS), *January 18, 1919. Brief Newspaper Report* 405

SPEECH AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONALIST TEACHERS, *January 18, 1919* 407

SPEECH AT A PROTEST RALLY FOLLOWING THE MURDER OF KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG, *January 19, 1919. Brief Newspaper Report* 411

REPORT AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS, *January 20, 1919* 412

LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA 429

SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF ADULT EDUCATION DIVISIONS OF GUBERNIA EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS, *January 24, 1919* 437

EVERYBODY ON FOOD AND TRANSPORT WORK! 439

MEASURES GOVERNING THE TRANSITION FROM BOURGEOIS-CO-OPERATIVE TO PROLETARIAN-COMMUNIST SUPPLY AND DISTRIBUTION 443

TELEGRAM TO UFA GUBERNIA REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE 445

DRAFT WIRELESS MESSAGE FROM PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS 446

CLOSURE OF THE MENSHEVIK NEWSPAPER UNDERMINING THE COUNTRY'S DEFENCE. *All-Russia Central Executive Committee Draft Resolution* 447

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION 451

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, March 2-6, 1919 453

1. SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, *March 2* 455

2. THESES AND REPORT ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, *March 4* . . . 457

3. RESOLUTION TO THE THESES ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT 475

4. CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, *March 6* 476

WON AND RECORDED 478

FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. *Speech at a Joint Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow Trade Unions and Factory Committees to Mark the Founding of the Communist International, March 6, 1919* 481

NOTE TO STALIN ON REORGANISATION OF STATE CONTROL . . 486

Notes 487

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 535

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. October 1918 16-17

First page of the manuscript "Comrade Workers, Forward to the Last, Decisive Fight!" First part of August 1918 . . 54-55

Cover of the pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, 1918* 228-229

First page of the manuscript "To the People's Commissariat of Education", *February 1919* 449

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
29

March–August 1919

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 15

March-August 1919

SESSION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. MARCH 12, 1919 19

1. REPORT ON THE FOREIGN AND HOME POLICY OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *Brief Newspaper Report* 19

2. REPLIES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS 26

SESSION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF FARM LABOURERS OF PETROGRAD GUBERNIA. MARCH 13, 1919 38

1. SPEECH ON THE ORGANISATION OF A FARM LABOURERS' UNION 38

2. REPLIES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS 43

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING IN THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE, PETROGRAD. MARCH 13, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 47

THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT 55

Afterword. 87

SPEECH IN MEMORY OF Y. M. SVERDLOV AT A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. MARCH 18, 1919 89

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF YAKOV SVERDLOV. MARCH 18, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 95

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE R.C.P.(B.) 97

1. Rough Draft of the Programme of the R.C.P. 99
The Basic Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia 105
2. Draft Programme of the R.C.P. (Bolsheviks) 119
3. Insertion for Political Section of the Programme . . . 125
4. Fragment of the Political Section of the Programme 126
5. Section of the Programme on National Relations . . . 127
6. Insertion for the Final Draft of the Programme Section on the National Question 128
7. Preamble to the Military Section of the Programme 129
8. First Paragraph of Section of the Programme on the Courts 131
9. Section of the Programme Dealing with Public Education 132
10. Section of the Programme Dealing with Religion . . 134
11. Points from the Economic Section of the Programme 135
12. Agrarian Section of the Programme 139

EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.). March 18-23, 1919 . . 141

1. SPEECH OPENING THE CONGRESS. MARCH 18 143

2. REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. MARCH 18 146

3. REPORT ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME. MARCH 19 165

4. SPEECH CLOSING THE DEBATE ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME. MARCH 19 186

5. WIRELESS MESSAGE OF GREETING ON BEHALF OF THE CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC. MARCH 22 197

6. REPORT ON WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. MARCH 23 . . . 198

7. SPEECH IN OPPOSITION TO A MOTION TO CLOSE THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. MARCH 23. 216

8. RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE MIDDLE PEASANTS 217

9. SPEECH CLOSING THE CONGRESS. MARCH 23 221

WIRELESS MESSAGE OF GREETING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC. MARCH 22, 1919 226

RECORD OF WIRELESS MESSAGE TO BÉLA KUN. MARCH 23, 1919 227

REPLY TO AN OPEN LETTER BY A BOURGEOIS SPECIALIST . . . 228

ON THE CANDIDACY OF M. I. KALININ FOR THE POST OF CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *Speech at the Twelfth Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. March 30, 1919* 233

SPEECHES ON GRAMOPHONE RECORDS 237

1. IN MEMORY OF COMRADE YAKOV MIKHAILOVICH SVERDLOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 239
2. THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 240
3. COMMUNICATION ON THE WIRELESS NEGOTIATIONS WITH BÉLA KUN 242
4. AN APPEAL TO THE RED ARMY 244
5. THE MIDDLE PEASANTS 246
6. WHAT IS SOVIET POWER? 248
7. HOW THE WORKING PEOPLE CAN BE SAVED FROM THE OPPRESSION OF THE LANDOWNERS AND CAPITALISTS FOR EVER. 250
8. ANTI-JEWISH POGROMS 252

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION. *April 1, 1919*. 254

EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. *April 3, 1919* . . . 255

1. REPORT ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC 255
2. RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC 272

LETTER TO THE PETROGRAD WORKERS ON AID FOR THE EASTERN FRONT 275

THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) ON THE SITUATION ON THE EASTERN FRONT 276

PLENARY MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS. *April 11, 1919* 280

1. REPORT ON THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE MOBILISATION FOR THE EASTERN FRONT 283
2. REPLY TO A QUESTION ON THE TULA STRIKE 296

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

3. SPEECH CLOSING THE DISCUSSION 298

FOREWORD TO HENRI GUILBEAUX'S PAMPHLET *SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM IN FRANCE DURING THE WAR* 302

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST MOSCOW SOVIET COMMANDERS' COURSES. APRIL 15, 1919. *Brief Newspaper Report* 304

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND ITS PLACE IN HISTORY 305

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE RAILWAYMEN OF MOSCOW JUNCTION. APRIL 16, 1919. 314

THE FIGHT AGAINST KOLCHAK. SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS. APRIL 17, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 320

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST STUDENTS. APRIL 17, 1919 324

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE BAVARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC 325

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UKRAINE 327

THREE SPEECHES DELIVERED IN RED SQUARE. MAY 1, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 328

1. 328
2. 330
3. Speech at the Unveiling of a Monument to Stepan Razin on Lobnoye Mesto 331

FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS ON ADULT EDUCATION. May 6-19, 1919 333

1. SPEECH OF GREETING. MAY 6 335

2. DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE WITH SLOGANS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY. MAY 19 339

I 340
II 345
III 350
IV 357
V 370

FOREWORD TO THE PUBLISHED SPEECH "DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLE WITH SLOGANS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY". 377

TELEGRAM TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UKRAINE 382

ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT APPEAL TO GERMAN WORKERS AND TO PEASANTS WHO DO NOT EXPLOIT THE LABOUR OF OTHERS 383

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *May 20, 1919* 385

SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING FESTIVAL MAY 25, 1919. *Brief Newspaper Report* 386

GREETINGS TO THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS 387

THE HEROES OF THE BERNE INTERNATIONAL 392

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *May 29, 1919* 402

BEWARE OF SPIES! 403

DRAFT C.C. DIRECTIVES ON ARMY UNITY 404

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 4, 1919* 406

DRAFT DECISION OF THE C.C. R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PETROGRAD FRONT 407

A GREAT BEGINNING. *Heroism of the Workers in the Rear.* "*Communist Subbotniks*" 409

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 30, 1919* 435

ALL OUT FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST DENIKIN! *Letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party* (*Bolsheviks*) *to Party Organisations* 436

- Main Task of the Moment 437
- The Truth About Kolchak and Denikin Must Be Explained to the People 438
- Work Among Men Called Up for Service 439
- Work Among Deserters 440
- Direct Aid to the Army 441
- Curtailment of Work Not for the War 442
- Work in the Front Zone 445
- Attitude Towards Military Experts 447
- The Fight Against Counter-revolution in the Rear . . . 450
- The Population Must Be Mobilised for War to a Man . . 453
- "Work in a Revolutionary Way" 454

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF SOVIET POWER. *Report Delivered to a Joint Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies, the All-Russia Council of Trade Unions and Representatives of Moscow Factory Committees. July 4, 1919* 456

THE STATE. *A Lecture Delivered at the Sverdlov University. July 11, 1919* 470

THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION OF THE REPUBLIC. REPORT DELIVERED TO THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). JULY 12, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 489

THE TASKS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. *Ramsay Mac-Donald on the Third International* 494

I 497
II 498
III 500
IV 503
V 506
VI 509

SPEECH ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION DELIVERED TO A RED ARMY CONFERENCE HELD IN KHODYNSKOYE CAMP. JULY 15, 1919. *Brief Newspaper Report* 513

ANSWERS TO AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST'S QUESTIONS 515

THE FOOD AND WAR SITUATION, SPEECH AT A MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF FACTORY COMMITTEES, TRADE UNIONS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOSCOW CENTRAL WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE. JULY 30, 1919 520

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WORKERS IN EDUCATION AND SOCIALIST CULTURE. JULY 31, 1919 532

IN THE SERVANTS' QUARTERS 540

I 540
II 542

SPEECH AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF WORKERS AND MEN OF THE RED ARMY. AUGUST 6, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 547

First Version 547
Second Version 549

TO COMRADES SERRATI AND LAZZARI 551

LETTER TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS APROPOS OF THE VICTORY OVER KOLCHAK 552

LETTER TO SYLVIA PANKHURST 561

FREEDOM TO TRADE IN GRAIN 567

The Basic Condition for Victory 567
The True Road to Victory 568
What Is Freedom to Trade in Grain? 570

Notes 571

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 589

ILLUSTRATIONS

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Agrarian Section of the Programme". 1919 138-39

First page of Lenin's manuscript "A Great Beginning". June 28, 1919 410-11

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
30

September 1919–April 1920

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 15

1919

SPEECH AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS AND MEN OF THE RED ARMY OF BASMANNY, LEFORTOVO, ALEXEYEVSKOYE AND SOKOLNIKI DISTRICTS. SEPTEMBER 3, 1919 19

HOW THE BOURGEOISIE UTILISES RENEGADES 27

TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS 38

THE TASKS OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC. *Speech Delivered at the Fourth Moscow City Conference of Non-Party Working Women.* September 23, 1919 40

THE EXAMPLE OF THE PETROGRAD WORKERS 47

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A *CHICAGO DAILY NEWS* CORRESPONDENT 50

GREETINGS TO ITALIAN, FRENCH AND GERMAN COMMUNISTS 52

THE WORKERS' STATE AND PARTY WEEK 63

SPEECH TO MOBILISED WORKER COMMUNISTS DELIVERED FROM THE BALCONY OF MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. OCTOBER 16, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 66

TO THE WORKERS AND RED ARMY MEN OF PETROGRAD 68

TO THE RED ARMY MEN 70

RESULTS OF PARTY WEEK IN MOSCOW AND OUR TASKS 71

SPEECH TO STUDENTS OF THE SVERDLOV UNIVERSITY LEAVING FOR THE FRONT. OCTOBER 24, 1919. 76

TO COMRADE LORIOT AND ALL THE FRENCH FRIENDS WHO ADHERED TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL 85

LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY REGARDING THE SPLIT. *To Comrades Paul Levi, Clara Zetkin, Eberlein and the Other Members of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany* 87

TO THE COMMUNIST COMRADES WHO BELONGED TO THE UNITED "COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY" AND HAVE NOW FORMED A NEW PARTY 89

TO COMRADE SERRATI AND TO ALL ITALIAN COMMUNISTS . . 91

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT 93

I (A) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as New Forms of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat 95

II (B) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Destruction of Bourgeois Democracy and the Creation of Proletarian Democracy 99

III (C) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Distinguishing Features of Imperialism. 102

IV (D) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Soviet Power 103

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN THE ERA OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT 107

1 107
2 108
3 110
4 111
5 114

GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS OF PETROGRAD 118

SOVIET POWER AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN 120

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET POWER 124

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RULE. *Speech at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies, the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions, and Factory Committees, on the Occasion of the Second Anniversary of the October Revolution. November 7, 1919* 127

TO THE COMMUNISTS OF TURKESTAN 138

THE FIGHT TO OVERCOME THE FUEL CRISIS. *Circular Letter to Party Organisations* 139

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE ON PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. NOVEMBER 18, 1919 143

ADDRESS TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST. NOVEMBER 22, 1919 151

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SOVIET RULE IN THE UKRAINE 163

EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). December 2-4, 1919 167

1. SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE. DECEMBER 2 169
2. POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. DECEMBER 2 170
3. CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. DECEMBER 2 189
4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FOREIGN POLICY 191
5. SPEECH SUMMING UP THE DEBATE ON SOVIET POWER IN THE UKRAINE. DECEMBER 3 193

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL COMMUNES AND AGRICULTURAL ARTELS. DECEMBER 4, 1919 195

SEVENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. December 5-9, 1919 205

1. REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. DECEMBER 5 207
2. CONCLUDING SPEECH ON THE REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. DECEMBER 6. . . . 232
3. SPEECH IN THE ORGANISATION SECTION. DECEMBER 8. . 243
4. SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS. DECEMBER 9 249

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT 253

I 253
II 256
III 259
IV 262

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

V 266
VI 271

TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION 276

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN PRESNYA DISTRICT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECEMBER UPRISING, 1905. DECEMBER 19, 1919 277

REPORT ON SUBBOTNIKS DELIVERED TO A MOSCOW CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). DECEMBER 20, 1919 283

LETTER TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE APROPOS OF THE VICTORIES OVER DENIKIN 291

STOP SPOILING THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE. *Some Thoughts at Leisure, i.e., While Listening to Speeches at Meetings* 298

1920

TO THE BUREAU OF THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN PETROGRAD GUBERNIA 299

REMARKS ON AND ADDENDA TO DRAFTS FOR "RULES FOR THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION" 300

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF WORKERS AND RED ARMY MEN OF PRESNYA DISTRICT, MOSCOW. JANUARY 24, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 302

DRAFT DECISIONS AND DIRECTIVES ON CO-OPERATIVES 307

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF ECONOMIC COUNCILS. JANUARY 27, 1920. *Newspaper Report* . . 309

TO MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE 314

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS DELIVERED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. SEVENTH CONVOCATION. FEBRUARY 2, 1920 315

DRAFT (OR THESES) OF THE R.C.P.'S REPLY TO THE LETTER OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY 337

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE RAILWAYMEN OF MOSCOW JUNCTION. FEBRUARY 5, 1920. *Brief Newspaper Report* 345

A LA GUERRE COMME A LA GUERRE! 347

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A NON-PARTY CONFERENCE IN BLAGUSHA-LEFORTOVO DISTRICT. FEBRUARY 9, 1920, *Newspaper Report* 349

A PUBLICIST'S NOTES 352

I 352
II 353
III 357
IV 359

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. FEBRUARY 16 363

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. FEBRUARY 18 364

IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS PUT BY KARL WIEGAND, BERLIN CORRESPONDENT OF UNIVERSAL SERVICE 365

IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE *DAILY EXPRESS* 368

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. FEBRUARY 20 370

TO THE WORKING WOMEN 371

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. FEBRUARY 22 373

SPEECH AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF ADULT EDUCATION DIVISIONS OF GUBERNIA EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS. FEBRUARY 25, 1920 374

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WORKING COSSACKS. MARCH 1, 1920 380

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MEDICAL WORKERS. MARCH 1, 1920. *Minutes* 401

A LETTER TO R.C.P. ORGANISATIONS ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS. 403

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY 408

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. MARCH 6, 1920. 410

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET IN CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. MARCH 6, 1920 417

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF WATER TRANSPORT WORKERS. MARCH 15, 1920 426

SPEECH AT A MEETING IN MEMORY OF Y. M. SVERDLOV. MARCH 16, 1920. *Brief Newspaper Report* 433

TWO RECORDED SPEECHES 435

1. WORK FOR THE RAILWAYS. 435
2. LABOUR DISCIPLINE 437

NINTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.). March 29-April 5, 1920 439

1. OPENING SPEECH. MARCH 29 441
2. REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. MARCH 29 443
3. REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. MARCH 30 463
4. SPEECH ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. MARCH 31 472
5. SPEECH ON THE CO-OPERATIVES. APRIL 3 480
6. SPEECH CLOSING THE CONGRESS. APRIL 5 485

ON COMPROMISES 491

I 491

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE 494

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST (INAUGURAL) ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MINEWORKERS 495

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS. APRIL 7, 1920 502

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OLD SOCIAL SYSTEM TO THE CREATION OF THE NEW 516

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TEXTILE WORKERS. APRIL 19, 1920 519

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING ORGANISED BY THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN HONOUR OF LENIN'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY. APRIL 23, 1920 526

Notes 529

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 575

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin. 1920. 18-19

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". October 30, 1919 105

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin". December 28, 1919 289

First page of the questionnaire filled in by Lenin as delegate to the Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). March 29, 1920. 438-439

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
31

April–December 1920

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 13

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER 17

I. In What Sense We Can Speak of the International Significance of the Russian Revolution 21
II. An Essential Condition of the Bolsheviks' Success 23
III. The Principal Stages in the History of Bolshevism 26
IV. The Struggle Against Which Enemies Within the Working-Class Movement Helped Bolshevism Develop, Gain Strength, and Become Steeled . . . 31
V. "Left-Wing" Communism in Germany. The Leaders, the Party, the Class, the Masses 39
VI. Should Revolutionaries Work in Reactionary Trade Unions? 46
VII. Should We Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments? . 56
VIII. No Compromises? 66
IX. "Left-Wing" Communism in Great Britain 77
X. Several Conclusions 90

Appendix 105

I. The Split Among the German Communists 107
II. The Communists and the Independents in Germany 109
III. Turati and Co. in Italy 111
IV. False Conclusions from Correct Premises 113
V. 117

Letter from Wijnkoop 117

SPEECH DELIVERED AT AN ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF GLASS AND PORCELAIN WORKERS, APRIL 29, 1920 119

FROM THE FIRST SUBBOTNIK ON THE MOSCOW-KAZAN RAILWAY TO THE ALL-RUSSIA MAY DAY SUBBOTNIK 123

SPEECH AT A MEETING DEDICATED TO THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF A MONUMENT TO LIBERATED LABOUR, MAY 1, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 126

SPEECH TO MEN OF THE RED ARMY LEAVING FOR THE POLISH FRONT, MAY 5, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 127

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, TRADE UNIONS, AND FACTORY COMMITTEES, MAY 5, 1920 129

TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT OF AZERBAIJAN 135

SPEECH AT AN ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF WORKERS AND RED ARMY MEN IN ROGOZHSKO-SIMONOVSKY DISTRICT OF MOSCOW, MAY 13, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 136

TO THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION 138

LETTER TO THE BRITISH WORKERS 139

PRELIMINARY DRAFT THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND THE COLONIAL QUESTIONS. *For the Second Congress of the Communist International* 144

PRELIMINARY DRAFT THESES ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. *For the Second Congress of the Communist International* 152

KOMMUNISMUS. Journal of the Communist International for the Countries of South-Eastern Europe (*in German*), *Vienna*, *No. 1-2* (*February 1, 1920*) *to No. 18* (*May 8, 1920*) 165

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF ORGANISERS RESPONSIBLE FOR RURAL WORK, JUNE 12, 1920 168

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA FOOD CONFERENCE, JULY 1, 1920 181

AID FOR THE WOUNDED OF THE RED ARMY! 183

THESES ON THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 184

I. The Essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of Soviet Power 185

II. What Immediate and Universal Preparation for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Should Consist In . 188

III. Rectification of the Political Line—Partly Also of the Composition—of Parties Affiliated or Desiring to Affiliate to the Communist International 197

REPLY TO A LETTER FROM THE JOINT PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN. 202

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO J. V. STALIN, JULY 12 or 13, 1920 . . . 203

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, JULY 17, 1920 205

THE TERMS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 206

ARTICLE TWENTY OF THE TERMS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 212

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, July 19-August 7, 1920 213

1. REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, JULY 19 215
2. SPEECH ON THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, JULY 23 235
3. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE NATIONAL AND THE COLONIAL QUESTIONS, JULY 26 240
4. SPEECH ON THE TERMS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, JULY 30 246
5. SPEECH ON PARLIAMENTARIANISM, AUGUST 2 253
6. SPEECH ON AFFILIATION TO THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY, AUGUST 6 257

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, AUGUST 2, 1920. 264

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, AUGUST 4, 1920. 265

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, AUGUST 11, 1920 266

LETTER TO THE AUSTRIAN COMMUNISTS 267

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. . 270

REPLY TO MR. SEGRUE, *DAILY NEWS* CORRESPONDENT 273

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS), SEPTEMBER 22, 1920. *Newspaper Report.* 275

LETTER TO THE GERMAN AND THE FRENCH WORKERS. *Regarding the Discussion on the Second Congress of the Communist International* 280

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES. *Speech Delivered at the Third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist League*, October 2, 1920. 283

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A CONGRESS OF LEATHER INDUSTRY WORKERS, OCTOBER 2, 1920 300

TO THE POOR PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE 314

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

ON PROLETARIAN CULTURE 316

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A CONFERENCE OF CHAIRMEN OF UYEZD, VOLOST AND VILLAGE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF MOSCOW GUBERNIA, OCTOBER 15, 1920 318

CONCLUDING REMARKS AT A CONFERENCE OF CHAIRMEN OF UYEZD, VOLOST AND VILLAGE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF MOSCOW GUBERNIA, OCTOBER 15, 1920 334

TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINE AND THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT 339

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION OF THE DICTATORSHIP. *A Note* 340

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, OCTOBER 29, 1920. 362

SPEECH DELIVERED AT AN ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF POLITICAL EDUCATION WORKERS OF GUBERNIA AND UYEZD EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS, NOVEMBER 3, 1920 363

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON "THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS, AND THE METHODS OF THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT". 374

ON THE STRUGGLE WITHIN THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY . . 377

False Talk on Freedom (*Instead of an Epilogue*) 391

SPEECH AT A JOINT PLENUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) AND THE MOSCOW CITY TRADE UNION COUNCIL, DEDICATED TO THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, NOVEMBER 6, 1920. 397

TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN, NOVEMBER 13, 1920 403

THESES ON PRODUCTION PROPAGANDA. *Rough Draft* 404

EXTRACT FROM DIRECT-LINE TALK BETWEEN V. I. LENIN AND J. V. STALIN. 407

OUR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POSITION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY. *Speech Delivered to the Moscow Gubernia Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), November 21, 1920*. 408

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MOSCOW GUBERNIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) ON ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 21, 1920 427

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A CONFERENCE OF FACTORY TRADE UNION COMMITTEES OF MOSCOW ENTERPRISES OF THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING INDUSTRY, NOVEMBER 25, 1920. *Brief Newspaper Report* 429

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF CELLS' SECRETARIES OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.), NOVEMBER 26, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 430

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A GENERAL MEETING OF COMMUNISTS OF ZAMOSKVORECHYE DISTRICT, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 29, 1920. *Brief Newspaper Report* 434

Concluding Remarks 435

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COMMITTEE OF ARMENIA 437

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF ACTIVISTS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.), DECEMBER 6, 1920 . . 438

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF GUBERNIA DEPARTMENTS FOR WORK AMONG WOMEN. *Telephone Message* 460

THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 22-29, 1920* 461

1. REPORT ON CONCESSIONS DELIVERED TO THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, DECEMBER 21 463
2. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, DECEMBER 22. 487
3. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, DECEMBER 23 519
4. SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, DECEMBER 24 525
5. DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE REPORT ON ELECTRIFICATION 532
6. DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS 534

LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF RED PRESNYA DISTRICT OF MOSCOW, DECEMBER 25, 1920 535

Notes 537

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 587

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin, May 1920 16-17

The first page of V. I. Lenin's manuscript "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, April-May 1920 19

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
32

December 1920–August 1921

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1973

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 15

1920

THE TRADE UNIONS, THE PRESENT SITUATION AND TROTSKY'S MISTAKES. *Speech Delivered at a Joint Meeting of Communist Delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Communist Members of the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions and Communist Members of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions, December 30, 1920*. 19

1921

THE PARTY CRISIS 43

THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MINERS 54

1. REPORT ON THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS DELIVERED ON JANUARY 23 AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS 54
2. SPEECH CLOSING THE DISCUSSION DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS, JANUARY 24 64

CONCERNING THE CONDITIONS ENSURING THE RESEARCH WORK OF ACADEMICIAN I. P. PAVLOV AND HIS ASSOCIATES. *Decree of the Council of People's Commissars* 69

ONCE AGAIN ON THE TRADE UNIONS, THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE MISTAKES OF TROTSKY AND BUKHARIN 70

The Danger of Factional Pronouncements to the Party . . 71

Formal Democracy and the Revolutionary Interest. . . . 74

The Political Danger of Splits in the Trade Union Movement 75

Disagreements on Principle 80

Politics and Economics. Dialectics and Eclecticism . . . 83
Dialectics and Eclecticism. "School" and "Apparatus" . . 90
Conclusion 100

SPEECH DELIVERED AT AN ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW METALWORKERS, FEBRUARY 4, 1921 108

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF GARMENT WORKERS, FEBRUARY 6, 1921 112

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO COMMUNISTS WORKING IN THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION . . 120

THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION . . 123

ROUGH DRAFT OF THESES CONCERNING THE PEASANTS 133

LETTER ON OIL CONCESSIONS. *To Members of the Political Bureau and Comrade Rykov* 134

INTEGRATED ECONOMIC PLAN 137

GREETINGS TO THE FIFTH ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS . . 146

SPEECH AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, FEBRUARY 28, 1821 . . . 147

LETTER TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE 160

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY 161

TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), March 6-16, 1921 . . . 165

1. SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS, MARCH 8 . . 167
2. REPORT ON THE POLITICAL WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MARCH 8 170
3. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE REPORT OF THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.), MARCH 9 192
4. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION ON IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF WORKERS AND NEEDY PEASANTS 208
5. SPEECH ON THE TRADE UNIONS, MARCH 14 210
6. REPORT ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF A TAX IN KIND FOR THE SURPLUS-GRAIN APPROPRIATION SYSTEM, MARCH 15 . 214
7. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE TAX IN KIND, MARCH 15 . . 229
8. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON PARTY UNITY 241

9. PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON THE SYNDICALIST AND ANARCHIST DEVIATION IN OUR PARTY 245

10. REPORT ON PARTY UNITY AND THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DEVIATION, MARCH 16 249

11. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON PARTY UNITY AND THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DEVIATION, MARCH 16 257

12. REMARKS ON RYAZANOV'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, MARCH 16 261

13. SPEECH ON THE FUEL QUESTION, MARCH 16 262

14. PROPOSAL ON THE FUEL QUESTION, MARCH 16 263

15. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONGRESS, MARCH 16 264

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRANSPORT WORKERS, MARCH 27, 1921 272

TO THE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE AND ALL WORKERS OF THE FIRST STATE MOTOR WORKS 285

REPORT ON THE TAX IN KIND DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF SECRETARIES AND RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVES OF R.C.P.(B.) CELLS OF MOSCOW AND MOSCOW GUBERNIA, APRIL 9, 1921 286

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF WOMEN'S DEPARTMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF SOVIET REGIONS AND REPUBLICS IN THE EAST 299

REPORT ON CONCESSIONS AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, APRIL 11, 1921 300

TO THE COMRADES COMMUNISTS OF AZERBAIJAN, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, DAGHESTAN, AND THE MOUNTAINEER REPUBLIC . . . 316

TO THE PETROGRAD CITY CONFERENCE OF NON-PARTY WORKERS 319

PLAN OF THE PAMPHLET *THE TAX IN KIND* 320

I 320
II 321
III 326
IV 327

THE TAX IN KIND (*The Significance of the New Policy and Its Conditions*) 329

In Lieu of Introduction 329

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

The Present-Day Economy of Russia (*Extract from the 1918 Pamphlet*) 330
Tax in Kind, Freedom to Trade and Concessions . . . 341
Political Summary and Deductions 358
Conclusion 364

RECORDED SPEECHES 366

1. THE TAX IN KIND 366
2. CONCESSIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM . . . 368
3. CONSUMERS' AND PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES . . 370

TO COMRADE KRZHIZHANOVSKY, THE PRESIDIUM OF THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION 371

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE TO LOCAL SOVIET BODIES. *Draft* 375

First Group of Questions

1. Commodity Exchange with the Peasantry 383
2. The State's Attitude to the Capitalists 385
3. Encouragement of Enterprise in Commodity Exchange and in Economic Development in General 385
4. Co-ordination of the Economic Work of Various Departments in the Local Administrative Areas: Volosts, Uyezds and Gubernias 386
5. Improvement of the Condition of the Workers and
6. Ditto of the Peasants 387
7. Increasing the Number of Government Officials in Economic Development 388
8. Methods and Results of Combating Bureaucratic Practices and Red Tape 389

Second Group of Questions

9. Revival of Agriculture: a) Peasant Farming; b) State Farms; c) Communes; d) Artels; e) Co-operatives; f) Other Forms of Collective Farming 390
10. Revival of Industry: a) Large-Scale Industry Entirely Controlled by the Centre; b) Large-Scale Industry Controlled Wholly or Partly by Local Bodies; c) Small, Handicraft, Domestic, etc., Industries 390
11. Fuel: a) Firewood; b) Coal; c) Oil; d) Shale; e) Other Types of Fuel (Waste Fuel, etc.) 391

12. Food Supplies 391
13. Building Industry. 392
14. Model and Hopeless Enterprises and Establishments . 392
15. Improvement in Economic Work. 392
16. Bonuses in Kind 392
17. The Trade Unions. Their Part in Production 393
18. Stealing. 394
19. Profiteering 394
20. Use of Army Units for Labour 394
21. Labour Service and Labour Mobilisation 395

Third Group of Questions

22. Regional and Local Economic Councils 395
23. Gosplan (The State General Planning Commission of the C.L.D.) and Its Relationships with Local Economic Bodies 396
24. Electrification 396
25. Commodity Exchange with Foreign Countries 397
26. Railway, Water and Local Transport. 397
27. Press Publicity for Economic Work 397

Fourth Group of Questions 398

TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.), *May 26-28, 1921* 399

1. SPEECH IN OPENING THE CONFERENCE, MAY 26 401

2. REPORT ON THE TAX IN KIND, MAY 26 402

3. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE TAX IN KIND, MAY 27. . . . 417

4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON QUESTIONS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY 433

5. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONFERENCE, MAY 28 436

SPEECH ON LOCAL ECONOMIC BODIES DELIVERED AT A SITTING OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MAY 30, 1921 438

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA FOOD CONFERENCE, JUNE 16, 1921. 441

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, June 22-July 12, 1921 451

1. THESES FOR A REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE R.C.P. . . 453

1. The International Position of the R.S.F.S.R. 453

2. The International Alignment of Class Forces 454

3. The Alignment of Class Forces in Russia. 455

4. The Proletariat and the Peasantry in Russia 455

5. The Military Alliance Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry in the R.S.F.S.R. 456

6. The Transition to Proper Economic Relations Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry 457

7. The Conditions Under Which the Soviet Government Can Permit Capitalism and Concessions, and the Significance Thereof. 457

8. The Success of Our Food Policy 458

9. The Material Basis of Socialism and the Plan for the Electrification of Russia 459

10. The Role of "Pure Democracy", the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks as the Allies of Capital 460

2. SPEECH ON THE ITALIAN QUESTION. JUNE 28 462

3. SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, JULY 1 468

4. REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE R.C.P., JULY 5 478

IDEAS ABOUT A STATE ECONOMIC "PLAN" 497

GREETINGS TO THE DELEGATE CONGRESS OF TSENTROSOYUZ . . 499

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS 501

APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT. 502

APPEAL TO THE PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE 503

A LETTER TO G. MYASNIKOV 504

TO COMRADE THOMAS BELL 510
A LETTER TO THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS 512
Notes 525
The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates 569

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. May 1921 18-19

First page of Lenin's "Preliminary Draft Resolution on the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. on Party Unity". March 1921 . . 239

First page of Lenin's "Instructions of the Council of Labour and Defence to Local Soviet Bodies. Draft". May 1921 377

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
33

August 1921–March 1923

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1973

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 17

1921

NEW TIMES AND OLD MISTAKES IN A NEW GUISE 21

LETTERS TO THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD 30

1. To the Manager of the Central Statistical Board, *August 16* 30

2. To the Manager of the Central Statistical Board or His Deputy, *September 1* 33

LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *EKONOMICHESKAYA ZHIZN*, *September 1* 36

PURGING THE PARTY 39

TASKS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION AND HOW THEY ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD AND FULFILLED 42

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS 49

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION 51

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE TASKS OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS. *Report to the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments*, *October 17* 60

Abrupt Change of Policy of the Soviet Government and the R.C.P. 60

The 1918 Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on the Role of the Peasantry 61
Our Mistake 62
A Strategical Retreat 63
Purport of the New Economic Policy 64
Who Will Win, the Capitalist or Soviet Power?. . . . 65
The Fight Will Be Even Fiercer 66
Is This the Last Fight? 68
We Must not Count on Going Straight to Communism 69
The Principle of Personal Incentive and Responsibility 70
Shall We Be Able to Work for Our Own Benefit? . . . 71
Obsolete Methods 73
The Greatest Miracle of All 74
Tasks of Political Educationalists 76
The Three Chief Enemies. 77
The First Enemy—Communist Conceit 77
The Second Enemy—Illiteracy. 78
The Third Enemy—Bribery 78
Difference Between Military and Cultural Problems . . 78

SEVENTH MOSCOW GUBERNIA CONFERENCE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, *October 29-31, 1921* 81

1. REPORT ON THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, *October 29* 83
2. CLOSING SPEECH, *October 29* 102

THE IMPORTANCE OF GOLD NOW AND AFTER THE COMPLETE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM 109

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PROKHOROV TEXTILE MILLS WORKERS, HELD TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, *November 6, 1921. Brief Newspaper Report* 117

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, RED ARMY MEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OF KHAMOVNIKI DISTRICT, MOSCOW, HELD TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, *November 7, 1921* 118

SPEECH AT A WORKERS' MEETING AT THE ELEKTROSILA PLANT No. 3 (FORMERLY DYNAMO PLANT) TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION *November 7, 1921. Brief Newspaper Report* 120

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET: *THE PROBLEM OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY* (*TWO OLD ARTICLES AND A STILL OLDER POSTSCRIPT*) 121

TELEGRAM TO NARIMANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF AZERBAIJAN. *Baku* 124

A CAPABLY WRITTEN LITTLE BOOK 125

MEMO TO J. V. STALIN WITH THE DRAFT DECISION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FORMATION OF A FEDERATION OF TRANSCAUCASIAN REPUBLICS. *November 28* 127

SPEECH AT THE FIRST MOSCOW GUBERNIA AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS, *November 29, 1921*. 128

THE THESES ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE 131

LETTER TO P. A. ZALUTSKY, A. A. SOLTS AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU RE THE PARTY PURGE AND THE CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE PARTY, *December 19* 138

LETTER TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU RE THE RESOLUTION OF THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, *DECEMBER 22* 139

NINTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 23-28, 1921* 141

1. THE HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC. *Report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, December 23* 143

2. INSTRUCTIONS BY THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, *December 28*. 178

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY POLICY 182

THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY 184

1. The New Economic Policy and the Trade Unions 184

2. State Capitalism in the Proletarian State and the Trade Unions 185

3. The State Enterprises That Are Being Put on a Profit Basis and the Trade Unions 185

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

4. The Essential Difference Between the Class Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Recognises Private Ownership of the Land, Factories, etc., and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Capitalist Class, and the Economic Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Does not Recognise Private Ownership of the Land and the Majority of the Large Enterprises and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Proletariat 186
5. Reversion to Voluntary Trade Union Membership 188
6. The Trade Unions and the Management of Industry 188
7. The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions in the Business and Administrative Organisations of the Proletarian State 189
8. Contact With the Masses—the Fundamental Condition for All Trade Union Activity 192
9. The Contradictions in the Status of the Trade Unions Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat 193
10. The Trade Unions and the Specialists 194
11. The Trade Unions and Petty-Bourgeois Influence on the Working Class 195

1922

DRAFT DIRECTIVE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY 197

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF DAGHESTAN 199

LETTER TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE GEORGIAN RED ARMY. *February 13* 200

LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY WITH NOTES ON THE DRAFT CIVIL CODE, *February 28* 202

NOTES OF A PUBLICIST. *On Ascending a High Mountain*; *the Harm of Despondency*; *the Utility of Trade*; *Attitude Towards the Mensheviks*, *etc.* 204

I. By Way of Example 204
II. Without Metaphors 205
III. Catching Foxes; Levi and Serrati 207

THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC. *Speech Delivered to a Meeting of the Communist Group at the All-Russia Congress of Metalworkers*, *March 6*, *1922* 212

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MILITANT MATERIALISM 227

TO COMRADE MOLOTOV FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU. *Re Comrade Preobrazhensky's Theses, March 16* 237

MEMO TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV WITH THE DRAFT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO E. VANDERVELDE, *March 17* 243

PREFACE TO I. I. STEPANOV'S *THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE R.S.F.S.R. AND THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE OF WORLD ECONOMY* 245

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE, *March 21* 247

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF *BEDNOTA* 249

LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH THE PLAN OF THE POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS, *March 23* 251

THE CONDITIONS FOR ADMITTING NEW MEMBERS TO THE PARTY. *Letters to V. M. Molotov* 254

1. 254

2. 256

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), March 27-April 2, 1922 259

1. SPEECH IN OPENING THE CONGRESS, *March 27* 261

2. POLITICAL REPORT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *March 27* 263

3. CLOSING SPEECH ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *March 28* 310

4. SPEECH IN CLOSING THE CONGRESS, *April 2* 325

ON THE DRAFT OF THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. *Letter to Comrade Osinsky, April 1* 327

WE HAVE PAID TOO MUCH 330

DECREE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE 335

I. The General and Main Functions of the Deputy Chairmen 335

II. Specific Questions Concerning the Work of the Deputy Chairmen 336

III. The Deputy Chairmen's Methods of Work. Their Staffs 339

IV. Co-ordinating the Work of the Two Deputy Chairmen 341

V. Distribution of Functions Between the Deputy Chairmen 341

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN. *To Comrade Stalin (for the Political Bureau), April 15* 344

PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET *OLD ARTICLES ON ALMOST NEW SUBJECTS. Preface to the 1922 Edition* 345

TELEGRAM TO THE WORKERS AND ENGINEERS OF THE AZNEFT TRUST. *Baku, April 28* 348

ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF *PRAVDA* 349

REPLY TO REMARKS CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS 353

DRAFT DECISION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATION TO THE GENOA CONFERENCE 356

LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY, *May 17* 358

LETTERS TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PROMOTION OF RADIO ENGINEERING 360

1. *May 19* 360
2. *May 19* 362

"DUAL" SUBORDINATION AND LEGALITY, *May 20* 363

A FLY IN THE OINTMENT. 368

LETTER TO THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS, *September 17* 370

MEMO TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON COMBATING DOMINANT NATION CHAUVINISM, *October 6*. 372

TO THE WORKERS OF BAKU, *October 6* 373

TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF RUSSIA, *October 11* 374

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) RE THE FOREIGN TRADE MONOPOLY, *October 13* . . 375

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF FINANCIAL WORKERS, *October 20* 379

TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA (IN THE UNITED STATES), *October 20* 380

TO THE SOCIETY FOR TECHNICAL AID FOR SOVIET RUSSIA, *October 20* 381

GREETINGS TO THE LIBERATED PRIMORYE TERRITORY, *October 26* 382

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO MICHAEL FARBMAN. *OBSERVER* AND *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN* CORRESPONDENT 383

SPEECH AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NINTH CONVOCATION. *October 31* 390

TO *PETROGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*, *November 1*. 396

TO *PRAVDA*, *November 2* 397

TO THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST CO-OPERATORS, *November 2* 398

TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF STATISTICIANS, *November 4* 399

INTERVIEW WITH ARTHUR RANSOME, *MANCNESTER GUARDIAN* CORRESPONDENT 400

First Version 400

Second Version (Unfinished) 406

TO THE NON-PARTY CONFERENCE OF WOMEN WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF MOSCOW CITY AND MOSCOW GUBERNIA, *November 6* 410

TO THE WORKERS OF THE FORMER MICHELSON PLANT, *November 7* 411

TO THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES AT THE STATE ELEKTROPEREDACHA POWER STATION, *November 7* 412

TO THE WORKERS AT THE STODOL CLOTH MILL IN KLINTSI, *November 8* 413

FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, November 5-December 5, 1922 415

1. TO THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, *November 4* . . . 417
2. FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION. *Report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, November 13, 1922* 418

GREETINGS TO THE ALL-RUSSIA AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION, *November 14* 433

TO THE *CLARTÉ* GROUP, *November 15* 434

SPEECH AT A PLENARY SESSION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET, *November 20, 1922* 435

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET EMPLOYEES' UNION 444

TO THE EDUCATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS, *November 26* . . 445

TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, MOSCOW, *December 4* 446

NOTES ON THE TASKS OF OUR DELEGATION AT THE HAGUE 447

A FEW WORDS ABOUT N. Y. FEDOSEYEV 452

TO THE ALL-UKRAINE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 10* . . 454

RE THE MONOPOLY OF FOREIGN TRADE, *December 13* 455

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *December 15* 460

1923

PAGES FROM A DIARY 462

ON CO-OPERATION 467

I. 467

II. 472

OUR REVOLUTION (*Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes*) 476

I. 476

II. 480

HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION (*Recommendation to the Twelfth Party Congress*) 481

BETTER FEWER, BUT BETTER 487

Notes 503

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin. Outstanding Dates . . . 539

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin. 1921 16-17

First page of Lenin's manuscript "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", October 14, 1921. 48-49

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
34

LETTERS
November 1895 – November 1911

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 17

Letters Addressed to:

1895

1. P. B. AXELROD. *Beginning of November* 20
2. P. B. AXELROD. *Middle of November* 23

1897

3. P. B. AXELROD. *August 16* 24

1898

4. A. N. POTRESOV. *September 2* 25

1899

5. A. N. POTRESOV. *January 26* 28
6. A. N. POTRESOV. *April 27* 32
7. A. N. POTRESOV. *June 27* 38

1900

8. NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA. *August, Prior to 24* 44
9. ADDRESSEE UNIDENTIFIED. *September 5* 48
10. APOLLINARIA YAKUBOVA. *October 26* 51

1901

11. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *January 30* 55
12. P. B. AXELROD. *March 20* 58
13. P. B. AXELROD. *April 25* 60
14. N. E. BAUMAN. *May 24* 65
15. P. B. AXELROD. *May 25* 67
16. LYDIA KNIPOVICH. *May 28* 70
17. THE *ISKRA* PROMOTION GROUP. *June 5* 71
18. L. Y. GALPERIN. *Between June 18 and 22* 72
19. N. E. BAUMAN. *June 25 or 26* 73
20. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 7* 74
21. S. O. TSEDERBAUM. *Second Half of July* 76
22. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 25* 80
23. P. B. AXELROD. *July 26* 83
24. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 30* 85
25. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *October 21* 87
26. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 2* 88
27. THE *ISKRA* ORGANISATIONS IN RUSSIA. *December, Prior to 18* 90
28. INNA SMIDOVICH. *December 18* 92

1902

29. L. I. GOLDMAN. *January 3* 93
30. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *February 7* 94
31. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 4* 96
32. P. B. AXELROD. *May 3* 99
33. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *May 6* 101
34. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *May 14* 103
35. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *June 23* 104
36. G. D. LEITEISEN. *July 2* 106

37. P. G. SMIDOVICH. *August 2* 108
38. V. A. NOSKOV. *August 4* 110
39. E. Y. LEVIN. *August 22* 114
40. V. P. KRASNUKHA AND YELENA STASOVA. *September 24* 116
41. P. A. KRASIKOV. *November 11* 118
42. E. Y. LEVIN. *Not Earlier Than December 11* 120
43. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 14* 123
44. V. I. LAVROV AND YELENA STASOVA. *December 27* . . . 126
45. F. V. LENGNIK. *December 27* 128

1903

46. I. V. BABUSHKIN. *January 6* 129
47. YELENA STASOVA. *January 15* 131
48. THE KHARKOV COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *January 15* 133
49. YELENA STASOVA. *January 16* 135
50. I. V. BABUSHKIN. *January 16* 136
51. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *January 27* 137
52. THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD. *February 4 or 5* 139
53. Y. O. MARTOV. *February 5* 141
54. THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *Prior to February 23* 144
55. THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE WITH THE TEXT OF NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA'S LETTER. *March 5 or 6* 146
56. THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE. *Between March 6 and 9* 148
57. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *March 15* 150
58. THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE. *March 31* 152
59. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *April 3* 153
60. THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE. *April 6* 154
61. YEKATERINA ALEXANDROVA. *Later Than May 22* . . . 156

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

62. ALEXANDRA KALMYKOVA. *September 7* 160
63. A. N. POTRESOV. *September 13* 164
64. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *Between September 10 and 14* 167
65. ALEXANDRA KALMYKOVA. *September 30* 168
66. THE ODESSA COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 1* 171
67. Y. O. MARTOV. *October 6* 173
68. G. D. LEITEISEN. *October 10* 175
69. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *October 20* 177
70. THE CAUCASIAN UNION COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 20* 179
71. THE DON COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October* 181
72. THE MINING AND METALLURGICAL WORKERS UNION. *October*. 182
73. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 1* 184
74. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 4* 186
75. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 4* 187
76. V. A. NOSKOV AND G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 5* 188
77. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 6* 189
78. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 8*. 191
79. M. N. LYADOV. *November 10* 193
80. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 18* 199
81. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 10* 200
82. THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD. *December 12* 202
83. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *December 18* 204
84. N. Y. VILONOV. *Between December 17 and 22*. 207
85. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 22* 211
86. THE EDITORS OF *ISKRA*. *December 24-27* 213
87. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P, *December 30* 215

1904

88. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *January 2* 218

89. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *January 4* 220

90. THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD. *January 8* 223

91. G. V. PLEKHANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *January 23* 224

92. G. V. PLEKHANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *January 27* 226

93. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *January 31* 227

94. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *Between February 2 and 7* . . 229

95. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE P.P.S. *February 7* . . 231

96. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *February* 232

97. THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ISKRA*. *February 26* 234

98. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *March 13* 235

99. F. V. LENGNIK. *May 26* 237

100. G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *Not Earlier Than May 26* . . 238

101. L. B. KRASIN. *Not Earlier Than May 26* 240

102. YELENA STASOVA AND F. V. LENGNIK. *June 19* 242

103. Y. O. MARTOV, SECRETARY OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *August 10* 244

104. M. K. VLADIMIROV. *August 15* 245

105. THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD. *August 24* 248

106. MEMBERS OF THE MAJORITY COMMITTEES AND ALL ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF THE MAJORITY IN RUSSIA WITH THE TEXT OF A LETTER TO LYDIA FOTIYEVA. *About August 28* 250

107. V. A. NOSKOV. *August 30* 251

108. V. A. NOSEOV. *August 30 or 31* 252

109. V. A. NOSKOV. *September 2* 253

110. Y. O. MARTOV, SECRETARY OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *September 2* 254

111. Y. O. MARTOV, SECRETARY OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *September 7* 256

112. PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN COMMITTEES AND TO THE SOUTHERN BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P. *Later Than October 5* 257

113. THE MAJORITY COMMITTEES. *Later Than October 5* . . 258

114. THE SIBERIAN COMMITTEE. *October 30* 259

115. A. M. STOPANI. *November 10* 264

116. A. A. BOGDANOV. *November 21* 266

117. NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA. *December 3* 268

118. A. A. BOGDANOV, ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA, AND M. M. LITVINOV. *December 3* 271

119. M. M. LITVINOV. *December 8* 274

120. ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA. *December 10* 277

121. THE CAUCASIAN UNION COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *Later Than December 12* 280

122. THE CAUCASIAN UNION COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 20* 281

123. MARIA ESSEN. *December 24* 282

124. ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA. *December 26* 283

125. A. I. YERAMASOV. *Between December 23, 1904 and January 4, 1905* 285

126. THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October-December*. 286

1905

127. A COMRADE IN RUSSIA. *January 6* 287

128. ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA. *Beginning of January* 291

129. THE SECRETARY OF THE MAJORITY COMMITTEES BUREAU. *January 29* 293

130. AUGUST BEBEL. *February 8* 295

131. S. I. GUSEV. *February 15* 296

132. S. I. GUSEV. *February 25* 298

133. S. I. GUSEV. *Beginning of March* 299

134. S. I. GUSEV. *March 11* 302

135. S. I. GUSEV. *March 16* 304
136. THE ODESSA COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *March 25* . 307
137. S. I. GUSEV. *April 4* 308
138. OLGA VINOGRADOVA. *April 8* 310
139. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. *July 8* 312
140. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *July 11* . . 314
141. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *July 12* . . 317
142. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *July 28* . . 320
143. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *August 2* 323
144. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *August 14* 326
145. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *Between August 15 and 19* . . . 328
146. P. N. LEPESHINSKY. *August 29* 330
147. P. N. LEPESHINSKY. *August 29* 333
148. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *End of August* 334
149. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *September 7* 336
150. P. A. KRASIKOV. *September 14* 338
151. S. I. GUSEV. *September 20* 342
152. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 3*. 344
153. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 3*. 345
154. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 5*. 348
155. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 8*. 350
156. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *October 11* 352
157. S. I. GUSEV. *October 13* 355
158. MARIA ESSEN. *October 26* 360
159. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 27* 362
160. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *End of October* 363

161. MOTYA AND KOSTYA, MEMBERS OF THE ODESSA ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *End of October-Beginning of November* 367

1907

162. MAXIM GORKY. *August 14* 369

163. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *Between November 2 and 11* . . . 370

1908

164. MAXIM GORKY. *January 9*. 372

165. MAXIM GORKY AND MARIA ANDREYEVA. *January 15* . . 373

166. THEODORE ROTHSTEIN. *January 29* 375

167. MAXIM GORKY. *February 2* 377

168. MAXIM GORKY. *February 7* 379

169. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *February 13* 383

170. MAXIM GORKY. *February 13* 385

171. MAXIM GORKY. *March 16* 387

172. MAXIM GORKY. *March 24* 388

173. MAXIM GORKY. *First Half of April* 391

174. A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *April 16*. 392

175. MAXIM GORKY. *April 16* 393

176. MAXIM GORKY. *April 19* 394

177. V. V. VOROVSKY. *July 1* 395

178. P. YUSHKEVICH. *November 10* 396

1909

179. ROSA LUXEMBURG. *May 18* 397

180. A. I. LYUBIMOV. *August 18* 398

181. G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 24* 399

182. A. I. LYUBIMOV. *Beginning of September* 401

183. MAXIM GORKY. *November 16* 403

184. MAXIM GORKY. *November, Not Earlier Than 20* 405

185. I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV. *December 2* 407

1910

186. DRAFT OF A LETTER TO THE "TRUSTEES". *February-Early March* 411
187. N. Y. VILONOV. *March 27*. 414
188. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *March 29* 416
189. N. Y. VILONOV. *April 7*. 417
190. MAXIM GORKY. *April 11* 419
191. N. A. SEMASHKO. *October 4*. 423
192. JULIAN MARCHLEWSKI. *October 7* 424
193. G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *October 14* 430
194. MAXIM GORKY. *November 14* 432
195. MAXIM GORKY. *November 22* 434
196. N. G. POLETAYEV. *December 7*. 436

1911

197. MAXIM GORKY. *January 3* 437
198. A. RYKOV. *February 25* 441
199. MAXIM GORKY. *May 27*. 446
200. ANTONIN NĚMEC. *November 1* 448

Notes 449

Identification of Pseudonyms, Nicknames and Initials Used in the Text 517

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

35

LETTERS

February 1912 – December 1922

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1973

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 19

Letters addressed to:

1912

1. MAXIM GORKY. *February* 23
2. MAXIM GORKY. *February-March* 24
3. G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *March 12* 25
4. G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *March 13* 27
5. *G. K. ORJONIKIDZE, S. S. SPANDARYAN AND YELENA STASOVA. *March 28*[1] 28
6. CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *Earlier than March 28* 31
7. *G. K. ORJONIKIDZE, S. S. SPANDARYAN AND YELENA STASOVA. *Early in April* 33
8. *THE BUREAU OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. IN RUSSIA. *April 16* 34
9. EDITOR OF *ZVEZDA*. *April 22* 36
10. B. N. KNIPOVICH. *June 6*. 38
11. *EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *July 19*. 40
12. EDITOR OF *NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA*. *July 24* 42
13. *EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *Earlier than August 1* 45
14. EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *August 1* 47
15. MAXIM GORKY. *August 1* 50
16. *EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *August 2* 52
17. MAXIM GORKY. *Earlier than August 25* 54
18. EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *September 8* 56
19. MAXIM GORKY. *Beginning of October*. 58
20. MAXIM GORKY. *October 17* 59
21. EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *November 2* 61

[1] Letters marked with an asterisk have not been published in previous editions. See Preface, p. 20.—*Ed.*

22. *EDITOR OF *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT*. *Earlier than November 18* 63
23. EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *November 24* 64
24. EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *November 26* 65
25. MAXIM GORKY. *December 22 or 23*. 67

1913

26. MAXIM GORKY. *Earlier than January 8* 69
27. N. A. RUBAKIN. *January 25* 73
28. MAXIM GORKY. *After January 25* 74
29. *Y. M. SVERDLOV. *February 9* 78
30. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *February 14* 81
31. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *February 29* 82
32. MAXIM GORKY. *Between February 15 and 25* 83
33. EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *February 21* 86
34. M. A. SAVELYEV. *February 22* 88
35. *L. B. KAMENEV. *February 25* 90
36. MAXIM GORKY. *After March 6* 92
37. *L. B. KAMENEV. *Before March 29* 93
38. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *April 5* 95
39. MAXIM GORKY. *Not earlier than May 9-10* 97
40. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *Not earlier than May 25*. 99
41. THE BOLSHEVIK DEPUTIES IN THE FOURTH STATE DUMA. *June 17*. 101
42. G. V. PLEKHANOV. *Not later than June 22* 103
43. MAXIM GORKY. *Not later than June 22*. 105
44. MAXIM GORKY. *July 25* 107
45. *THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE DEATH OF AUGUST BEBEL. *Between August 13 and 17* . . 109
46. S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *August 24* 110
47. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA TRUDA*. *Not earlier than September 30*. 111
48. MAXIM GORKY. *September 30* 112
49. EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Earlier than October 26*. 114
50. EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Between November 2 and 7*. 115
51. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not earlier than November 3* 117
52. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *November 7* 118

53. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not later than November 7* 119
54. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not earlier than November 13* 120
55. MAXIM GORKY. *November 13 or 14* 121
56. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not later than November 14* 125
56. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not later than November 16* 126
58. MAXIM GORKY. *Second half of November* 127
59. *INESSA ARMAND. *After December 18*. 130
60. *INESSA ARMAND. *End of December* 131

1914

61. *DAVID WIJNKOOP. *January 12* 133
62. *INESSA ARMAND. *April 1* 135
63. *INESSA ARMAND. *April 24* 137
64. *EDITORIAL BOARD OF *DZVIN*. *April 26*. 139
65. N. N. NAKORYAKOV. *May 18* 140
66. S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *May 19* 142
67. *INESSA ARMAND. *Earlier than June 5* 144
68. *INESSA ARMAND. *Between July 10 and 16* 146
69. *I. E. HERMAN. *Later than July 18* 150
70. SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY. *July 21* 153
71. SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY. *July 28* 154
72. V. A. KARPINSKY. *Later than September 27* 155
73. V. A. KARPINSKY. *Earlier than October 11* 156
74. V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 11* 158
75. V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 17* 159
76. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 17* 161
77. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 17* 165
78. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 27* 167
79. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 31* 170
80. SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT PUBLISHING HOUSE. *November 17*. 173
81. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *November 28* 175
82. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Earlier than December 16* 177

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

1915

83. BASOK. *January 12* 179
84. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 17* 180
85. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 24* 182
86. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *January 11* 186
87. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Later than May 22* 189
88. *DAVID WIJNKOOP. *Between June 19 and July 13* 191
89. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Later than July 11* 193
90. *DAVID WIJNKOOP. *Later than July 24* 195
91. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *July 26* 198
92. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Not earlier than August 4* . . . 200
93. K. B. RADEK. *August 19* 202
94. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *August 23* 204
95. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Earlier than September 13* 206
96. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 10* 208
97. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *November 9* 210

1916

98. MAXIM GORKY. *January 11* 212
99. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Later than March 11* 213
100. *G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 21* 218
101. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Earlier than June 17* 223
102. M. N. POKROVSKY. *July 2* 226
103. *G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 228
104. *N. I. BUKHARIN. *End of August and beginning of September* 230
105. A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Later than October 3* 232
106. FRANZ KORITSCHONER. *October 25* 237
107. N. D. KIKNADZE. *End of October and beginning of November* 240
108. N. D. KIKNADZE. *Later than November 5* 242
109. *INESSA ARMAND. *November 20* 246
110. *INESSA ARMAND. *November 25* 248
111. *INESSA ARMAND. *November 30* 250
112. ARTHUR SCHMID. *December 1* 256
113. *INESSA ARMAND. *December 18* 259
114. M. N. POKROVSKY. *December 21* 262
115. *INESSA ARMAND. *Later than December 23* 264
116. *INESSA ARMAND. *December 25* 266

1917

117. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 8* 270
118. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 19* 272
119. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 22* 275
120. *INESSA ARMAND. *Between January 22 and 30* 277
121. *INESSA ARMAND. *January 30* 279
122. *INESSA ARMAND. *February 3* 282
123. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *February 17* 285
124. *INESSA ARMAND. *February 19* 288
125. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *March 5* 290
126. *INESSA ARMAND. *March 15* 294
127. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *March 16* 295
128. ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *March 17* 297
129. V. A. KARPINSKY. *March 19* 300
130. V. A. KARPINSKY. *March 24* 301
131. *A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *Earlier than March 25* 302
132. V. A. KARPINSKY. *March 25* 303
133. *INESSA ARMAND. *Between March 25 and 31* 306
134. J. S. HANECKI. *March 30* 308
135. *V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 2* 314
136. V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 12* 316
137. BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ABROAD. *August 17 (30)* 318
138. THE FINNISH COMRADES. *November 11* 325
139. TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS DEPUTIES. *November 19* . . . 326
140. *TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OSTROGOZHSK SOVIET. *December 6 (19)* 327

1918

141. *TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *January 22* 328
142. *TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DRISSA TOWN SOVIET. *February 19* 329
143. *TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR WAR. *April 22* . . 330
144. TO D. I. KURSKY. *May 4* 331
145. TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *May 14* 332
146. *TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *May 23* 333

147. *TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. *June 2* 334
148. *TELEGRAM TO NIZHNI-RIVERSIDE. *June 8* 335
149. *TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 26* 336
150. *TELEGRAM TO A. M. YURIEV. *June 26* 337
151. *TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *June 29* 338
152. *TELEGRAM TO CHIEFS OF REQUISITIONING DETACHMENTS ON ALL RAILWAYS. *July 1* 339
153. TO ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE R.C.P., ALL DISTRICT SOVIETS, ALL STAFFS OF THE RED ARMY. *July 6* . . 340
154. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET. *July 7* . . 341
155. *RADIO MESSAGE TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *July 22*. 342
156. *TO CLARA ZETKIN. *July 26* 343
157. *TELEGRAM TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *July 29* 345
158. *TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *August 5* 346
159. *TELEGRAM TO N. A. ANISIMOV. *August 9* 348
160. *TO G. F. FYODOROV. *August 9* 349
161. *TELEGRAM TO V. V. KURAYEV. *August 10* 350
162. *TELEGRAM TO V. V. KURAYEV. *August 12* 351
163. *TELEGRAM TO A. Y. MINKIN. *August 14* 352
164. *TELEGRAM TO M. F. BOLDYREV. *August 17* 353
165. *TELEGRAM TO THE ZDOROVETS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OREL GUBERNIA. *August 19* 354
166. *TELEGRAM TO THE LIVNY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 20* 355
167. *TELEGRAM TO THE ASTRAKHAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 21* 356
168. TO PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *August 29* 357
169. TO M. S. KEDROV. *August 29* 358
170. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September 7* 359
171. *TELEGRAM TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *September 18* . . . 360
172. TO RAILWAYMEN COMRADES ON THE MOSCOW-KIEV-VORONEZH RAILWAY. *September 20* 361
173. TO Y. A. BERZIN, V. V. VOROVSKY AND A. A. JOFFE. *September 20* 362
174. *T0 Y. M. SVERDLOV AND L. D. TROTSKY. *October 1* . . . 364
175. TELEGRAM ON THE OCCASION OF THE CAPTURE OF SAMARA. *October 9* 366
176. *TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. *October 12* 368
177. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SPARTACUS GROUP. *October 18* 369

178. *TELEGRAM TO I. I. VATSETIS. *October 20* 370
179. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. A. JOFFE. *October 23* 371
180. *TELEGRAM TO THE OREL AND KURSK GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES AND GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEES. *November 9* 372
181. *TELEGRAM TO IVANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNECHA R.C.P.(B.) ORGANISATION. *November 13* 373
182. *TELEGRAM TO THE OREL GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *November 13* 374
183. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. I. VATSETIS. *December 23* . . . 375
184. TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET OF COMMUNES OF THE NORTHERN REGION. *December 25* 376

1919

185. *TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *January 2 or 3* 377
186. *TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *April 20* 378
187. *TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *April 22* . . . 379
188. *TELEGRAM TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN. *April 24* 380
189. *TELEGRAM TO K. G. RAKOVSKY, V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, N. I. PODVOISKY, L. B. KAMENEV. *April 24* 381
190. *TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE WESTERN FRONT. *April 24* 382
191. *TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *April 25* . . . 383
192. *TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *April 25* 384
193. TO THE STAFF OF THE 2nd UKRAINIAN SOVIET ARMY AND ALL COMRADES OF THAT ARMY. *May 2* 385
194. *TELEGRAM TO K. G. RAKOVSKY, V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, N. I. PODVOISKY. *May 5* 386
195. *TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV AND A. L. KOLEGAYEV. *May 6* 387
196. *TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *May 12* 388
197. *TELEGRAM TO THE PETROGRAD DEFENCE COMMITTEE. *May 13* 389
198. *TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *May 19* 390
199. *TELEGRAM TO A. L. KOLEGAYEV. *May 21* 391
200. *TELEGRAM TO K. U. RAKOVSKY AND V. I. MEZHLAUK. *May 26* 392
201. *TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV, M. M. LASHEVICH, K. K. YURENEV. *May 29* 393
202. *TELEGRAM TO D. I. YEFREMOV. *May 30* 394

203. *TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE EASTERN FRONT. *June 9* 395
204. *TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *June 10* 396
205. *TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH. *June 11* . 397
206. *TELEGRAM TO O. I. SOMOV AND D. I. YEFREMOV. *June 14* . 398
207. *TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *June 14* 399
208. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE AND S. Z. ELIAVA. *June 16* . 400
209. *TELEGRAM TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF SOVIETS OF THE FRONT-LINE DISTRICTS. *June 16* 401
210. *TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 10th ARMY AND THE TSARITSYN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *June 18* 402
211. *TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH AND K. K. YURENEV. *June 20* 403
212. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE EASTERN FRONT. *July 1* 404
213. *TELEGRAM TO V. V. KURAYEV, V. A. RADUS-ZENKOVICH, K. I. PLAKSIN. *July 2* 405
214. *TELEGRAM TO V. A. RADUS-ZENKOVICH. *July 8* 406
215. *TELEGRAM TO THE TULA METALWORKERS' CONGRESS. *July 11* 407
216. *TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH AND K. K. YURENEV. *July 17* 408
217. *TO MAXIM GORKY. *July 18* 409
218. *TO MAXIM GORKY. *July 31* 410
219. *TELEGRAM TO A. P. ROZENGOLTS. *August 1* 415
220. *TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *August 9* 416
221. *TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *August 10* 417
222. *INSTRUCTION TO A SECRETARY AND NOTE TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *End of August* 418
223. *TELEGRAM TO THE BASHKIR REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE, *September 5* 419
224. *TO S. I. GUSEV. *September 16* 420
225. *TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *October 15* 422
226. *NOTE ON A LETTER FROM O. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *Not earlier than October 15* 423
227. TO G. N. KAMINSKY, D. P. OSKIN, V. I. MEZHLAUK. *October 20* 424
228. *INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DEPUTY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR WAR. *October 24* 426

229. *TO V. V. VOROVSKY. *October 24* 427
230. *TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Later than October 25* 429
231. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *December 26* 430
232. *TELEGRAM TO M. M. LITVINOV. *December 28* 432

1920

233. TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS. *January 16* 433
234. *TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *January 18* 434
235. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *January 23* 435
236. *TO M. A. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *February 5* 437
237. *TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *February 27* 438
238. *TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 11* 439
239. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *March 14* 440
240. *TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *March 15* 442
241. *TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 17* 443
242. TO V. V. ADORATSKY. *April 6* 444
243. TO K. A. TIMIRYAZEV. *April 27* 445
244. *TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *May 4* 446
245. *TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *May 5* 447
246. TO A. S. SERAFIMOVICH. *May 21* 448
247. *TO D. I. KURSKY. *Early in July* 449
248. *TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. *Earlier than July 19* 450
249. *TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *July 22* 452
250. TO THE LIBRARY OF THE RUMYANTSEV MUSEUM. *September 1* 454
251. *TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *September 9* 455
252. TO THE CHEREMKHOVO COAL MINERS. *September 15* . . . 456
253. *TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 1st CAVALRY ARMY. *October 4* 457
254. *TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *October 16* 458
255. *TO THE TULA COMRADES. *October 20* 459
256. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. *October 21* 460
257. *TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 1st CAVALRY ARMY. *October 24* 461
258. *TO R. E. KLASSON. *November 2* 462
259. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 6* 464

260. TO THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE. *December 11* 466
261. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *December* 467
262. *TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *Late in December* 469

1921

263. TO THE BAKURY VOLOST ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *January 21* 471
264. *TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 26* 473
265. *TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *February 6* 474
266. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *February 19* 475
267. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *February 25* 476
268. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 11th ARMY. *March 10* 479
269. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *Later than April* 480
270. *TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY, M. N. POKROVSKY AND Y. A. LITKENS, *April 8* 482
271. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *April 9* 483
272. *TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *April 9* 484
273. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *April 12* 486
274. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *April 13* 488
275. *TO Y. A. LITKENS. *May 6* 489
276. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA. *May 9* 490
277. TO M. F. SOKOLOV. *May 16* 491
278. *TO Y. A. LITKENS. *May 19* 494
279. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *May 25* 495
280. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *May 26* 497
281. *TELEGRAM TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *May 27* 499
282. *TO I. T. SMILGA. *May 27* 500
283. *TO M. P. PAVLOVICH. *May 31* 501
284. *TO Y. A. LITKENS. *Late in May* 503
285. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *June 1* 504
286. *TO I. M. GUBKIN. *June* 3 505
287. *TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *June 5* 506
288. *TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *July 4* 508
289. *TO N. P BRYUKHANOV. *July 10* 509
290. *TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *July 17* . . 510
291. TO A. A. KOROSTELEV. *July 26* 511
292. TO L. M. KHINCHUK. *July 29* 513
293. *TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MOSCOW GUBERNIA COMMUNE. *July 30* 515

294. TO V. V. ADORATSKY. *August 2* 516
295. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE. *August 7* 517
296.*TO G. I. SAFAROV. *August 7* 518
297. *LETTER TO V. S. DOVGALEVSKY AND INSTRUCTION A SECRETARY. *September 2* 519
298. LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY AND INSTRUCTION TO A SECRETARY. *September 3* 521
209. TO I. K. YEZHOV. *September 27* 523
300. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *October 13* 525
301. TO SIDNEY HILLMAN. *October 13* 526
302. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *October 24* 528
303. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 16* 530
304. *TO A. S. YENUKIDZE. *November* 531
305. *TO LYDIA FOTIYEVA. *December 28* 532

1922

306. TO D. I. KURSKY. *January 17* 533
TO A. D. TSYURUPA 535
307. 1. NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE. *January 24* . 535
308. 2. A PROGRAMME FOR WORK ON NEW LINES. *February 20* 538
309. 3. PROPOSAL FOR THE DRAFT DIRECTIVE TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *February 20-21* 540
310. 4. DRAFT DIRECTIVE REGARDING THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE. THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND ALSO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *February 27* . 541
311. TO Y. A. KARPINSKY. *January 26* 543
312. *TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *January 28* 544
313. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *February 1* 546
314. *TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *February 15* 547
315. *TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *February 22* 549
316. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *April 6* 551
317. TO CHARLES P. STEINMETZ. *April 10* 552
318. *TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *September 27* 554
319. *TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *October 16* 555
320. TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV. *November 15* 557

321. TO COMRADE MÜNZENBERG, SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID. *December 2* 559

Notes 561

Identification of Pseudonyms, Nicknames and Initials Used in the Text 623

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin in Zakopane. *1914* 144-45

V. I. Lenin in the Kremlin courtyard during convalescence after the attempt on his life. *October 1918* 368-69

V. I. Lenin. *1920* 432-33

V. I. Lenin. *1921* 480-81

V. I. Lenin watches the trials of the first Soviet electric plough at the training and experimental farm of the Moscow Zootechnics Institute. *October 22, 1921* 528-29

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

36

1900–1923

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 23

1900

Letters Addressed to:

Y. M. STEKLOV. *Not later than September 4* 29

TO ***. *Between September 6 and 15* 32

P. B. AXELROD. *October 10* 34

P. B. AXELROD. *October 18* 36

P. B. AXELROD. *October 19* 38

P. B. AXELROD. *October 21* 39

V. P. NOGIN. *November 2* 41

P. B. AXELROD. *November 3* 43

P. B. AXELROD. *November 8* 45

*G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 9* 48

P. B. AXELROD. *November 16* 53

P. B. AXELROD. *November 19* 55

P. B. AXELROD. *November 26* 57

P. B. AXELROD. *December 11* 58

P. B. AXELROD. *December 14* 60

P. B. AXELROD. *December 24* 61

1901

Letters Addressed to:

V. P. NOGIN. *January 3* 63

V. P. NOGIN. *January 24* 65

THE *BORBA* GROUP. *February 3* 67

THE *BORBA* GROUP. *February 21* 69

P. B. AXELROD. *February 27* 71

F. I. DAN. *March 22* 73

V. P. NOGIN. *April 6* 75

*KARL H. BRANTING. *April 19* 76

G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 21* 78

M. G. VECHESLOV. *April 25* 79

S. I. RADCHENKO. *End of April* 81

P. N. LEPESHINSKY AND P. A. KRASIKOV. *June 1* 82

P. B. AXELROD. *June 1* 84

M. G. VECHESLOV. *June 17* 86

P. B. AXELROD. *July 9* 87

*G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 13*. 89

P. B. AXELROD. *July 16* 91

P. B. AXELROD. *August 21* 94

P. B. AXELROD. *August 24*. 96

E. L. GUREVICH. *November 3* 98

LYUBOV AXELROD. *November 27* 100

G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 1* 102

G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 19* 104

L. I. GOLDMAN. *December* 105

1902

LYUBOV AXELROD. *February 18* 106

P. B. AXELROD. *March 22* 107

P. B. AXELROD. *March 27*. 108

TO A. A. BOGDANOV. *Between March 28 and April 19* . . . 110

TO F. V. LENGNIK. *May 23* 112

TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *June 22* 113

G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 2* 115

TO NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA. *July 16* 117

TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *July 16* 119

TO ALEXANDRA KALMYKOVA. *September 27*. 122

*PREFACE TO THE SPEECHES OF NIZHNI-NOVGOROD WORKERS IN COURT 124

*G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 1* 125

1903

TO F. V. LENGNIK. *January 17*. 126

TO YELENA STASOVA. *January 9* 127

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND V. A. NOSKOV. *October 5*. . 128

F. I. DAN. *December 2* 130

1904

TO THE SOUTHERN BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *End of May* 131

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *July 26* 133

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *Between August 18 and 31* . . 135

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *September 13* 137

TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *September 29* 138

TO MARIA GOLUBEVA. *After October 5* 139

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

TO E. E. ESSEN. *November 4* 140

TO A. I. YERAMASOV. *December* 141

1905

TO ***. *March 9* 142

*TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE. *March 23* 144

TO P. A. KRASIKOV. *April 5* 145

TO ***. *April-May* 146

*TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE. *May 20* 147

*TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *June 1 or 2* 148

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *September 15* 149

TO M. A. REISNER. *October 4* 154

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 25* . . 155

1907

TO M. S. KEDROV. *End of November and beginning of December* 156

1908

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY. *January 7* 157

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY. *Between January 7 and February 2* . . 158

TO G. A. ALEXINSKY. *February 3* 159

TO MAXIM GORKY. *First half of March* 160

TO MARIA ANDREYEVA. *End of April* 161

TO TH. A. ROTHSTEIN. *July 8* 162

NOTE TO A. A. BOGDANOV. *October 27 or 28* 164

1909

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 165

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 7 or 14* 166

1910

TO LEON TYSZKA. *March 28* 167

TO MARIA ZOLINA. *April 30* 170

TO LEON TYSZKA. *July 20*. 171

TO KARL RADEK. *September 30* 172

TO KARL RADEK. *October 9* 174

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 22* 176

1911

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *February 3* 177

TO MAXIM GORKY. *End of April* 178

*THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY 180

TO MAXIM GORKY. *September 15* 185

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *September 25* 187

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *Between September 26 and 28* 188

1912

*WHAT IS THE CADET ELECTION PLATFORM? 189

*WORKERS' UNITY AND THE ELECTIONS 191

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 8* 193

*TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *First half of October* 194

*TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *After October 3* 197

*TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *November 2*. 199

*TO THE EDITOR OF *PRAVDA*. *After November 2* 200

TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 17*. 202

*AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN AMERICA 204

*TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *Before November 26* 206

*MORE ZEAL THAN SENSE 207

*THE QUESTION OF PARTY AFFILIATION AMONG DEMOCRATIC-MINDED STUDENTS 209

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *Before December 20* 211

*IN AMERICA 214

*THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES. *Article Three* 216

*THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS "PARLIAMENTARY" REPRESENTATIVES. *Article Five* 219

1913

*EUGÈNE POTTIER. *The 25th Anniversary of His Death* . . . 223

*THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORKERS' CHOIRS IN GERMANY . . . 225

TO N. A. RUBAKIN. *February 13* 227

*THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE 228

*CAPITALISM AND FEMALE LABOUR 230

*LANDOWNERS' CALL FOR "PACIFYING" THE COUNTRYSIDE . . 232

*LESSONS OF THE BELGIAN STRIKE 234

*THE BUILDING INDUSTRY AND BUILDING WORKERS 236

*AN ASSESSMENT OF THE FOURTH DUMA 238

*THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND THE "HARD" LIFE OF THE CAPITALISTS 240

*THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND ARMAMENTS 242

*ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES BY THE GERMAN CATHOLICS 244

*HOLIDAYS FOR WORKERS 247

*THE MEANING OF AN "HISTORIC" FORMULA 249

*FROM WHOM DOES SUPPORT COME? 251

FROM FRANCE. *From Our Correspondent* 253

*DEPUTY FRANK FAVOURS THE MASS STRIKE 256

*AN INTERESTING CONGRESS. 258

TO V. M. KASPAROV. *Between June 18 and 22* 260

TO G. I. SAFAROV. *July 20* 261

TO O. N. LOLA. *July 20.* 262

TO J. S. HANECKI. *September 12* 263

TO V. L. LEDER. *October 28* 264

TO MAXIM GORKY. *Beginning of November.* 265

TO MAXIM GORKY. *Middle of November* 266

TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *December* 267

1914

*TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*. *February 9* 268

TO A. A. TROYANOVSKY. *Not earlier than February 11.* 270

TO ISAAC A. HOURWICH. *February 27* 271

*TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*. *Before March 23* 273

TO V. B. STANKEVICH. *March 24* 276

*TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY*. ON THE QUESTION OF THE ARTICLES ABOUT IRELAND *Between April 7 and 23* 277

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *End of April* 279

*OUR TASKS. 281

TO A. A. TROYANOVSKY. *May 20* 285

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *After May 23.* 286

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Before July 16* 287

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *July 31* 288

TO M. V. KOBETSKY. *August 2.* 290

TO VIKTOR ADLER. *September 5.* 291

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *September 6* 292

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Before October 15* 293

SPEECH AT G. V. PLEKHANOV'S LECTURE "ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALISTS TO THE WAR". SEPTEMBER 28 (OCTOBER 11), 1914. *Brief Newspaper Report* 294

LECTURE ON "THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WAR". OCTOBER 1 (14), 1914. *Newspaper Report* 297

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 18* 303

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 23* 305

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *November 14* 307

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *November 25* 310

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Between November 28 and December 8* 311

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Between December 5 and 12* 312

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *December 9* 313

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *After December 28* 314

1915

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *January 3* 316

TO THE EDITORIAL SECRETARY OF GRANAT PUBLICATIONS. *January 4* 317

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Before January 17* 318

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Between January 20 and February 1* . 319

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *January 30 or 31* 321

MAY DAY AND THE WAR 322

TO KARL RADEK. *After June 19*. 329

TO KARL RADEK. *July 15* 332

TO KARL RADEK. *Before August 4*. 334

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Before August 4* 337

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *August 16* 338

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *After August 16* 339

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Before August 19* 341

TO V. M. KASPAROV. *August 19* 342

TO I. A. BERZIN. *August 20* 343

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *After August 19* 344

TO YELIZAVETA RIVLINA. *After August 19* 345

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Between September 8 and 13* . . 346

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between September 11 and 15*. 348

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *September 13* 349

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *September 13* 350

TO KARL RADEK. *Before September 18* 351

TO KARL RADEK. *September 19* 352

TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *September 19* 353

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *September 19* 354

TO KARL RADEK. *After September 21* 356

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *After September 26* 357

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *End of September or beginning of October* 358

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 6* 359

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *November 22* 360

TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH. *End of November or beginning of December* 361

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *Before December 16*. 362

1916

TO HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST. *After January 21* 363

TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *January 27* 365

TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *January 29* 366

TO MAXIM GORKY. *Before February 8* 367

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *February 13* 368

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *February 17* 369

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *February 24* 370

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *February 27* 371

TO Y. LARIN. *March 13* 372

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *March 19* 373

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *After March 19* 375

INITIAL VARIANT OF R.S.D.L.P. C.C. PROPOSALS TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. PROPOSALS BY THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE I.S.C. (BERNE). (*Theses on Items 5, 6, 7a, 7b and 8 of the Agenda*) 377

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *April 4.* 388

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *Between April 19 and May 7* . . 389

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Between May 6 and 13* 390

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *May 17* 392

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *May 23* 393

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *After May 28* 397

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Late in May* 399

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *After June 4* 401

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *June 17* 403

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *June 27* 408

TO ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI. *July 25* 409

TO ZINAIDA LILINA. *After July 27* 411

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *August 5* 412

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *Late in August* 413

TO G. Y. BELENKY. *October 26* 414

ON THE AMENDMENT TO BEBEL'S RESOLUTION AT THE STUTTGART CONGRESS 415

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *December 20* 416

1917

UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE. *January 11 or 12* 417

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *January 19* 418

TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *After February 12* 419

TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *After March 19*. 420

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI. *March 23*. 421

*PLAN FOR A LECTURE, "THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS TASKS", DELIVERED AT ZURICH 422

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI. *March 28*. 425

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI. *March 30*. 426

TELEGRAM TO ROBERT GRIMM. *March 31* 427

TO THE ZURICH GROUP OF BOLSHEVIKS. *April 2 or 3* 428

TELEGRAM TO J. S. HANECKI. *April 5*. 429

TELEGRAM TO HENRI GUILBEAUX. *April 6* 430

PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE APRIL THESES. *Theses* 431

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON APRIL 4 (17), 1917 ON THE QUESTION OF THE PASSAGE ACROSS GERMANY. *Minutes* 433

REPORT AT A MEETING OF BOLSHEVIK DELEGATES TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES APRIL 4 (17), 1917 434

TO J. S. HANECKI AND KARL RADEK. *April 12*. 444

THESES ON THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT DECLARATION. *Theses* 446

PLAN FOR A REPORT ON THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATION. MAY 8 (21), 1917 448

FOR THE CONGRESS OF SOVIETS 452

NOTE TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Between July 5 (18) and 7 (20)* . . 454

TO N. I. PODVOISKY OR V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *November 26* 455

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). NOVEMBER 29 (DECEMBER 12), 1917. *Minutes* 456

SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. DECEMBER 1 (14), 1917. 458

1. Speech on the Question of Setting up a Supreme Economic Council. *Newspaper Report* 458

TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV AND F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *Beginning of December* 459

FROM A PUBLICIST'S DIARY. (*Themes for Elaboration*) 460

DRAFT DECREES ON CONSUMERS' COMMUNES 464

1. Preliminary Theses 464

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *Between December 21 and 28, 1917* (*January 3 and 10, 1918*) 466

1918

SPEECHES ON WAR AND PEACE AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). JANUARY 11 (24), 1918. *Minutes* 467

TO THE NAVAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. *January 15* . . . 471

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *January 17 (30)* . . 472

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *Before January 21* 473

TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *January 21* 474

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). JANUARY 2 (FEBRUARY 6), 1918. *Minutes* 475

TELEGRAM TO M. A. MURAVYOV. *February 14* 476

TO COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF M. A. MURAVYOV, TO THE SUPREME RUSSIAN BOARD, TO THE PEOPLE'S SECRETARIAT OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC, FOR V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *February 17* 477

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). FEBRUARY 18, 1918. *Minutes* 478

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). FEBRUARY 23, 1918. *Minutes* 479

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *February 23* . . . 482

TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *February 28* . . . 483

MATERIAL FOR THE FOURTH EXTRAORDINARY ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS 484

1. NOTES FOR A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE CONGRESS 484
2. NOTES FOR A REPORT ON THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY 485

TO THE TASHKENT CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE TURKESTAN TERRITORY. TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE TURKESTAN TERRITORY, FOR IBRAHIMOV AND KLEVLEYEV. *May 5* (*April 22*) 486

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 14* 487

TELEGRAM TO COMMISSAR IVANOV. *July 11*. 488

TELEGRAM TO YEVGENIA BOSCH. *August 9* 489

TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 12* 490

TELEGRAM TO M. S. KEDROV. *August 12*. 491

TO N. I. MURALOV. *August 29* 492

DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON REPORTS BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS 493

TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY. *October 27* 494

RADIOGRAM FROM MOSCOW TO ONE AND ALL. *November 10* . . 495

*TO GIACINTO M. SERRATI. *December 4* 496

IN MEMORY OF COMRADE PROSHYAN 497

1919

TELEGRAM TO THE KURSK EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION. *January 6* 499

REPLY TO A PEASANT'S QUESTION 500

NOTES ON THE QUESTION OF REORGANISING STATE CONTROL 504

*DRAFT THIRD CLAUSE OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME (FOR THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION OF THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS) 505

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *April 24* 506

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 30* 507

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV. *May 7* 508

*TELEGRAM TO BELA KUN. *May 13* 509

TELEGRAM TO S. A. GETSOV, KHARKOV CHIEF COAL BOARD. *May 16* 510

*TO V. A. AVANESOV. *May 20* 511

*TO BELA KUN. *June 18* 512

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *September 4* 513

FOREWORD TO G. ZINOVIEV'S ARTICLE "ON THE NUMERICAL COMPOSITION OF OUR PARTY" 514

TELEGRAM TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET ON YUDENICH'S OFFENSIVE. OCTOBER 14, 1919 515

*TO A. S. YENUKIDZE, L. B. KAMENEV AND YELENA STASOVA. *November 12* 516

NOTE TO D. I. KURSKY. *Between December 17 and 23* 517

NOTE TO D. I. KURSKY. *Between December 17 and 23* 518

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK BY JOHN REED: *TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD*. 519

1920

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP IN THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS. *March 15, 1920. Minutes* 520

TO V. P. MILYUTIN. *April 23* 524

POSTSCRIPT TO A RADIO MESSAGE OF MAY 6, 1920 525

TO S. I. BOTIN. *June 4* 526

TO THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE AND TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY AND N. I. BUKHARIN. *August 8* 527

TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *Late summer* 528

TO ANNA YELIZAROVA. *Autumn* 529

TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *December 5* 530

*TELEGRAM TO FACTORIES MAKING ELECTRIC PLOUGHS. *December 31*. 531

ON POLYTECHNICAL EDUCATION. *Notes on Theses by Nadezhda Konstantinovna* 532

1921

NOTES FOR A SPEECH AT THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF FOOD REQUISITIONING BY A TAX. *Note for a Speech on the Substitution of Food Requisitioning by a Tax* 535

ON THE KRONSTADT REVOLT 538

TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *March-April* 539

*TELEGRAM TO THE PETROGRAD REGIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, TRADE UNION COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *May 27* 540

TO S. G. SAID-GALIEV. *July 20* 541

*NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *August 5* 542

TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 3* 543

TO A. S. KISELYOV. *September 15* 546

NOTE TO G. I. KRUMIN. *October 7* 547

*TO V. A. AVANESOV. *October 15* 548

NOTES FOR A REPORT AT THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION WORKERS. *The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of Political Education Workers* 549

TO D. I. KURSKY ON THE QUESTION OF LEASES AND CONCESSIONS IN AGRICULTURE. *October 25* 551

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE R.C.P. 552

List (Chronological) of Subjects of Dispute 552

Struggle of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks: (Alternation of Numerical Relations) 553

TO V. A. AVANESOV, D. I. KURSKY AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *December 13*. 555

TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *December 23* 556

1922

ON THE QUESTION OF STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR 559
ON THE TASKS OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY. *February 20* 560
TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *On the Subject of the Draft Directives to the Narrow Council of People's Commissars. February 21* . . 566
*TO A. L. SHEINMAN. *February 28* 567
TO V. A. TIKHOMIROV. *March 1* 569
TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV. *March 19* 570
NOTES FOR A SPEECH ON MARCH 27, 1922 571
TO D. I. KURSKY, *March 31* 576
*TO N. OSINSKY. *April 12* 578
TO MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGIUM OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION. *August 21* 580
TO V. A. AVANESOV. *September 1* 581
TO L. M. KHINCHUK. *September 12* 583
TO L. M. KHINCHUK. *Not earlier than September 18* 584
NOTES FOR A REPORT "FIVE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN 585
OUTLINE OF SPEECH AT THE TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS 588

1922-23

*I. LETTER TO THE CONGRESS 593
II. 594
*Addition to the Letter of December 24, 1922 596
III. 596
IV. GRANTING LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION. 598
V. 600
VI. 601
*VII. (ADDITION TO THE SECTION ON INCREASING THE NUMBER OF C.C. MEMBERS 603
*THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITIES OR "AUTONOMISATION" 605
*THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITIES OR "AUTONOMISATION" (*Continued*) 607
Notes 613
Name Index 715

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
37

Letters to Relatives
1893 – 1922

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 21
M. I. ULYANOVA. Preface to *Letters to Relatives* (1930 Edition) 24
A. I. ULYANOVA-YELIZAROVA. Apropos of Lenin's Letters to Relatives 46

1893

1. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 5* 65
2. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *October* 67

1894

3. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 13* 68
4. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 24* 70

1895

5. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 14* 72
6. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 20* 73
7. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 8* 74
8. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 18* 75
9. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 10* 77
10. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 29* 78
11. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 7* 80
12. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 5* 81

1896

13. TO A. K. CHEBOTARYOVA. *January 2* 82
14. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 12* 85

15. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 14* 87
16. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 16* 89

1897

17. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 2* 91
18. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *March 10* 94
19. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 15 and 16* 95
20. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 26* 97
21. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 5* 99
22. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 17* 101
23. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 7* 105
24. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 18* 106
25. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 25* 111
26. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *June 8* 116
27. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW MARK YELIZAROV. *June 15* . . . 118
28. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 19* 120
29. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 17* 123
30. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *September 7* 126
31. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 30* 128
32. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 12* 130
33. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *October 19* . . . 133
34. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *December 10* 135
35. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *December 21* 138
36. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 27* . . 141

1898

37. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *January 4* . . 143
38. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 24* . . . 146
39. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 7* 150
40. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 14* . . 155
41. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 18* 158

42. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 24* . . . 160
43. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *March 1* . . . 163
44. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 8* 165
45. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 14* 167
46. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *March 28* 169
47. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 10* 171
48. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 17* 173
49. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7* 174
50. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 14* 176
51. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *July 15* 178
52. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 2* 181
53. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *August 16* 184
54. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 26* 186
55. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 16* 188
56. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 11* 190
57. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 1* 192
58. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *Written between November 7 and 11* . 193
59. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 11* 196
60. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 15* . . . 198
61. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 22* . . . 200
62. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER. *November 28* 203
63. TO HIS MOTHER, HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *December 6* 205
64. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 12* . . . 209
65. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *December 20* 212
66. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22 and 28* 214
67. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 28* . . . 215

1899

68. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 3* 217
69. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 10* 218
70. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 17* 220
71. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 24* 222
72. TO HIS BROTHER. *January 26* 224

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

73. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 30* 228
74. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 3* 230
75. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 7* 233
76. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 13* 235
77. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 21* 238
78. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 28* . . . 239
79. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 28* 241
80. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 7* 243
81. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 7* 245
82. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 17* 247
83. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA *March 17* 250
84. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 21*. 252
85. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 4* 253
86. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 11* 256
87. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 1* 259
88. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 9* 262
89. TO HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS MOTHER. *May 29 and 30* . 264
90. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER. *June 20* 266
91. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 11* 269
92. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 1*. 270
93. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 7*. . . . 271
94. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 15* 273
95. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 22* 274
96. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *August 22*. 276
97. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 25* 279
98. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 1* 281
99. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 11* 283
100. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 17* 284

1900

101. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 19* 286
102. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 15*. 288

103. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 6* 289
104. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 26* 291
105. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 30* 292
106. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 5* 293
107. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 10* 295
108. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 18* 296
109. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 2* 297
110. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 31* 298
111. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 7* 299
112. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 19* 300
113. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 3* 302
114. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 6 and 7* 303
115. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 29* 305
116. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 6* 306
117. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 14* 308
118. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 26* 310

1901

119. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 1* 312
120. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 16* 313
121. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 27* 315
122. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 9* 317
123. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 20* 319
124. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 27* 321
125. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 2* 322
126. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 4* 323
127. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 19* 325
128. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *May 19* 327
129. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7* 329
130. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 331
131. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 17* 332
132. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 3* 333
133. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 1* 334
134. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 21* 336

1902

135. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 26* 338
136. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 24* 339
137. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 2* 341
138. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 10* 343
139. TO HIS MOTHER. May *8* 344
140. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7*. 346
141. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 14* 348
142. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 27* 349
143. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 9* 350
144. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 17* 352
145. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 26* 354

1903

146. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 4* 355
147. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 22* 356
148. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 29* 358

1904

149. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 8* 359
150. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 20*. 360
151. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 2* . . . 361
152. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 7 or 8* 363
153. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 16* 364
154. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 28* 365

1907

155. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 27* . . 366
156. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *End of June* 368
157. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 15* 370

1908

158. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 14* 372
159. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 22* 374
160. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 7* 376
161. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 14* 378
162. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 17* 380
163. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 10* 382
164. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *Written between April 19 and 23* 383
165. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 20* 384
166. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 13* 386
167. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 9* 388
168. TO HIS MOTHER. *Summer* 389
169. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 30* 390
170. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *October 27* 392
171. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 8* 395
172. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 17* 396
173. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 26* 398
174. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 10* 400
175. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 19* 402
176. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 24* 404

1909

177. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 6* 406
178. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 16 or 17* 407
179. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 17* or *18* 408
180. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 23* 410
181. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 2* 412
182. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 9* 413
183. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 12* 415
184. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 21 and 22* 417
185. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 23 or 24* 419
186. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 26* 421
187. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 5* 422

188. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 6* 424
189. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 8* 426
190. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 21* 428
191. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *May 26* 430
192. TO HIS BROTHER. *Late June-early July* 432
193. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 19* 434
194. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 24* 436
195. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 25* 438
196. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 4* 439
197. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 3 or 4* 440
198. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 7* or *8* 442
199. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 10 or 11* 443

1910

200. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 2* 445
201. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *Early January* 447
202. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 12* 448
203. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 30 or 31*. 449
204. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 1* 451
205. TO HIS BROTHER. *February 13* 452
206. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 13* 454
207. TO HIS BROTHER. *February 17* 455
208. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 10* 456
209. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *May 2* 458
210. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 18* 460
211. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *June 18*. 461
212. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 462
213. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 28* 463
214. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 4* 464

1911

215. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *January 3*. 465
216. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 19* 467
217. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 8* 469

218. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 20* 470
219. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 20* 471
220. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 28* 472

1912

221. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 8 or 9* 473
222. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 24* 474
223. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 7* 475
224. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 27* 476
225. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 2* 477
226. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 479
227. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *End of November* 481
228. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *Autumn* 482
229. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 21 or 22* 483
230. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 24* or *25* 485
231. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 28* 487

1913

232. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 3* 488
233. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 24* . . 489
234. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 18* 491
*235. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *First half of April* 492
236. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 3* . . 493
237. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *May 12 or 13* 495
*238. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 25* . . 497
*239. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *June 18* 499
240. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 24* 500
241. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 28 or 29* 501
242. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 26* 502
243. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 12 or 13* 504
244. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 21* 506
245. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *December 26* 507

1914

*249. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 7* 509
247. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 11* 511

248. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 16* 513
249. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 21* 514
*250. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 16* 515
251. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 10* 517
252. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *April 22* 518
253. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 14* 520
254. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22* 522

1915

255. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 9* 524
256. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 7* 526

1916

257. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 20* 528
258. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 12* 529
259. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *September 20* 530
260. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *October 22* 531
261. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 26* 533

1917

262. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 15* 535
263. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 18 or 19* 537
264. TELEGRAM TO HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *April 2* . . 539
265. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August* 540
266. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *End of August-September* 541

1919

267. TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE. *July 2* 542
268. TO HIS WIFE. *July 9* 543
269. TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE. *July 10* 545
*270. TO HIS WIFE. *July 15* 546
*271. TO HIS SISTER MARIA AND HIS WIFE. *1919 or 1920* . . . 547

1921

*272. TO HIS SISTER MARIA 548

1922

*273. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *End of 1922* 549
*274. TO HIS SISTER MARIA 550

APPENDICES

I. ENTRIES CONCERNING LETTERS FROM LENIN TO HIS RELATIVES (From the Files of the Moscow Gendarmerie) . . . 553
II. LETTERS WRITTEN BY NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA 555

1898

1. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 15* . 555
2. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 6* 557
3. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 10* 558
4. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 14* 559
5. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *August 9* 561
6. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 562
7. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 11* 563
8. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 27* 566
9. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 14* 569
10. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *November 11* 571
11. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *November 22* 572

1899

12. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 10* 574
13. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 17* 576
14. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *January 24* 576
*15. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *April 4* 578
16. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 20* 579
17. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 3* 581
18. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 17* 582

1900

19. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 28* 583
20. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 30* 585
21. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 26* 586
22. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *July 26* 588
23. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 589
24. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 11* 590
25. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 1* 592
26. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *November 8* 594

27. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *December 2* 595
28. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22* 596

1901

29. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 2* 598
30. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 12* 600
31. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 11* 601
32. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 16* 602
33. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 2* 603

1902

34. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 27* 604

1903

*35. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 4*. 605

1904

36. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 15* 607

1909

37. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *Written in the twenties of December* 608

1910

*38. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *August 24* 609

1911

*39. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 610
*40. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 21* 611

1912

41. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *March 9* 612
42. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 27* 613

1913

43. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 4* . . 614
44. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 24* . 615
45. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 18* 615
*46. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *April 10* 617

1914

*47. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *January 31* 618
48. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *February 11* 619
49. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *April 15* 621
50. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 8* 621

1915

51. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 24* 622
*52. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 11* 623
53. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *December 14* 624

1916

54. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 8* 626
Notes 627
Index of Literary Works and Sources Quoted or Mentioned by V. I. Lenin 677
Index of Names 709

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin 1897 64-65
M. A. Ulyanova. 1898 72-73
The house in which Lenin lived during his exile in Shushenskoye 176-177
The first page of Lenin's letter to his mother, February 3, 1899 231
Dmitry Ulyanov. 1903 320-321
N. K. Krupskaya. 1903 360-361
The first page of Lenin's letter to his sister Anna, October 27, 1908 393
View of Rue Marie Rose (Paris). Lenin lived in House No. 4 from 1909 to 1912 448-449
Lenin's mother and sister Maria, 1913 488-489
The house in Poronin (Poland) in which Lenin lived in the Summer of 1913 and 1914 496-497
V. I. Lenin. October 1918 544-545
Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova. 1921 548-549

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

FROM MARX
TO MAO

VOLUME

38

Philosophical Notebooks

NOT FOR
COMMERCIAL
DISTRIBUTION

www.marx2mao.com

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW 1976

CONTENTS

Preface 13

1895

CONSPECTUS OF THE BOOK *THE HOLY FAMILY* BY MARX AND ENGELS 19

1903

FR. ÜBERWEG. *OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY*. (Revised by Max Heinze) 3 volumes. 1876-1880. Leipzig . . . 52

FR. PAULSEN. *INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY*. 1899 . . . 53

1904

NOTE ON A REVIEW OF *THE WORKERS OF LIFE* AND *THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE* BY E. HAECKEL 56

1909

REMARKS ON BOOKS ON THE NATURAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE SORBONNE LIBRARY 57

CONSPECTUS OF FEUERBACH'S BOOK *LECTURES ON THE ESSENCE OF RELIGION*. 61

1914- 1916

CONSPECTUS OF HEGEL'S BOOK *THE SCIENCE OF LOGIC*. 85

Preface to the First Edition 87

Preface to the Second Edition 89

Introduction: General Concept of Logic 95

Book One:
The Doctrine of Being 101

With What Should One Begin Science? 103
Section One: Determinateness (Quality) 105
Section Two: Magnitude (Quantity) 116
Section Three: Measure 120
Book Two:
Essence 127
Section One: Essence as Reflection in Itself 129
Section Two: Appearance 148
Section Three: Actuality 156
Book Three:
Subjective Logic or the Doctrine of the Notion 165
On the Notion in General 167
Section One: Subjectivity 176
Section Two: Objectivity 185
Section Three: the Idea 192

NOTES ON REVIEWS OF HEGEL'S *LOGIC* 238

CONSPECTUS OF HEGEL'S BOOK *LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY* 243

Introduction to the History of Philosophy 245

Volume XIII. Volume I of *The History of Philosophy*.
History of Greek Philosophy 247
Ionic Philosophy. 247
Pythagoras and Pythagoreans 247
The Eleatic School 250
The Philosophy of Heraclitus 259
Leucippus 263
Democritus 265
The Philosophy of Anaxagoras 266

Volume XIV. Volume II of *The History of Philosophy* . . 269
The Philosophy of the Sophists 269
The Philosophy of Socrates 272
The Socratics 275
The Philosophy of Plato. 277
The Philosophy of Aristotle 280
The Philosophy of the Stoics 288
The Philosophy of Epicurus 289
The Philosophy of the Sceptics 295

Volume XV. Volume III of *The History of Philosophy*.
(The End of Greek Philosophy, Medieval and Modern Philosophy up to Schelling, pp. 1-692). 301

The Neo-Platonists 301
Hegel on Plato's Dialogues 302

CONSPECTUS OF HEGEL'S BOOK *LECTURES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY* 303
Hegel on World History 313

PLAN OF HEGEL'S DIALECTICS (LOGIC). (Contents of the Small Logic (Encyclopaedia)) 315

GEORGES NOËL: *HEGEL'S LOGIC*. Paris, 1897 319

J. PERRIN. *TREATISE ON PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY. PRINCIPLES*. Paris, 1903 325

PETER GENOV. *FEUERBACHS ERKENNTNISTHEORIE UND METAPHYSIK*. Zürich, 1911 (Berner Dissertation) (S. 89) . . 326

PAUL VOLKMANN. *EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES* ("Sciences and Hypothesis," IX). Second Edition. Leipzig, 1910. 328

MAX VERWORN. *THE HYPOTHESIS OF BIOGENESIS*. Jena, 1903 329

FR. DANNEMANN. *HOW DID OUR PICTURE OF THE WORLD ARISE?* (Kosmos). Stuttgart, 1912. 331

LUDWIG DARMSTAEDTER. *HANDBOOK ON THE HISTORY OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES AND TECHNIQUE*. Berlin, 1908, 2nd edition 338

NAPOLÉON. *PENSÉES*. Paris, 1913. Bibliothèque Miniature No. 14 334

ARTUR ERICH HAAS. *THE SPIRIT OF HELLENISM IN MODERN PHYSICS*. Leipzig, 1914 (32 pp.) (Veit & Co.) 335

THEODOR LIPPS. *NATURAL SCIENCE AND WORLD OUTLOOK*. (Speech at the 78th Congress of German Natural Scientists in Stuttgart). Heidelberg, 1906. 336

CONSPECTUS OF LASSALLE'S BOOK *THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERACLITUS THE OBSCURE OF EPHESUS* 337

ON THE QUESTION OF DIALECTICS 355

CONSPECTUS OF ARISTOTLE'S BOOK *METAPHYSICS* 363

NOTE ON THE COLLECTED WORKS OF FEUERBACH AND HEGEL 373

CONSPECTUS OF FEUERBACH'S BOOK *EXPOSITION, ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEIBNITZ* . . 375

DR. JOHANN PLENGE. MARX AND HEGEL. Tübingen, 1911 . . . 388

NOTES ON BOOKS 392

F. Raab. *Die Philosophie von R. Avenarius. Systematische Darstellung und immanente Kritik.* Leipzig, 1912 392

Perrin. *Les atomes*. Paris (Alcan) 392

Gideon Spicker. *Über das Verhältnis der Naturwissenschaft zur Philosophie*. Berlin, 1874 393

Hegel. *Phänomenologie* (hrs. Bolland, 1907) 393

Albrecht Rau. *Fr. Paulsen über E. Haeckel*. 2-te Aufl. Brackwede, 1907 394

E. Haeckel. *Gott-Natur*. Leipzig, 1914 395

Ühde. *Feuerbach*. Leipzig, 1914 395

A. Zart. *Bausteine des Weltalls: Atome, Moleküle* Stuttgart, 1913 395

Ruttmann. *Die Hauptergebnisse der modernen Psychologie* 396

Suter. *Die Philosophie von Richard Avenarius*. 1910 396

ON THE REVIEW OF JOH. PLENGE'S BOOK *MARX AND HEGEL* 397

ON THE REVIEW OF R. B. PERRY'S BOOK *PRESENT PHILOSOPHICAL TENDENCIES* 398

ON THE REVIEW OF A. ALIOTTA'S BOOK *THE IDEALIST REACTION AGAINST SCIENCE* 399

REMARKS ON HILFERDING'S VIEWS ON MACH (*IN FINANCE CAPITAL*) 400

1908-1911

REMARKS IN BOOKS 401

G. V. Plekhanov. *Fundamental Questions of Marxism*. St. Ptsbrg, 1908 403

Abel Rey. *Modern Philosophy*. Paris, 1908 407

A. Deborin. *Dialectical Materialism* 475

V. Shulyatikov. *The Justification of Capitalism in West-European Philosophy*. (From Descartes to E. Mach). Moscow, 1908 484

G. V. Plekhanov. *N. C. Chernyshevsky*. "Shipovnik" Publishing House. St. Petersburg, 1910 501

Notes 559

Index of Sources Mentioned by Lenin 590

Name Index 608

Subject Index 627

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of V. I. Lenin.—1917 18-19

First page of V. I. Lenin's manuscript: Conspectus of the Book *The Holy Family* by Marx and Engels.—1895 21

A page from V. I. Lenin's manuscript: Conspectus of Feuerbach's book *Lectures on the Essence of Religion*.—1909 . . . 79

The cover of the first notebook containing Conspectus of Hegel's book *The Science of Logic*.—September-December 1914 . . . 86-87

A page from V. I. Lenin's manuscript: Conspectus of Hegel's book *The Science of Logic*.—September-December 1914 . . . 224-225

Reading Hall of the Berlin Library. V. I. Lenin worked here in 1914-16 338-339

A page from V. I. Lenin's manuscript *On the Question of Dialectics*.—1915 356-357

A page from G. V. Plekhanov's book *N. G. Chernyshevsky* with V. I. Lenin's notes 545

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
39

Notebooks on Imperialism

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 19

NOTEBOOKS ON IMPERIALISM

NOTEBOOK "α" ("ALPHA") 29
Contents 29
Outline for an Article on the Struggle Against the "Marsh" (*Notes on Kautskyism*) 30
Source References 31
Ravesteijn on the Balkan Problem 32
Werner on Concentration in the Ruhr Mining Industry 33
Meyer (Capital Investment) and Source References . . . 35
Liefmann on the Frankfurt Metal Trade 36
Bourgeois Scientists on the Struggle Against Imperialism 38
Moride, "Multiple Stores" 39
Source References 40
Schilder, Volume 5 of *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* . . . 41
Notes from *Nashe Slovo* 42
Source References 42
Total Capital in Joint-Stock Companies 44
Kestner, *Compulsory Organisation* 44
Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on Viennese Banks 48
Annals of the American Academy 48
Source References 50
Stillich, *Money and Banking* 52
Liefmann, *Cartels and Trusts* 55
From *Principles of Social Economics* 56

NOTEBOOK "β" ("BETA") 74
Contents 74
Dietzel, Schumpeter, Vogelstein 75
Source References 76

Extracts from *Die Bank* 77
Source References 94
Security Statistics 94
Grunzel, *The Balance of Trade, Payments, and of the Economy* 96
Schilder, First Volume of *Development Trends in the World Economy* 96
Hildebrand, *The Shattering, etc.* 110
P. Tafel, *The North American Trusts, etc.* 113
Note on K. Kautsky Versus Imperialism 116
E. Agahd, *Big Banks and the World Market* 117
Ballod, Statistics 137
Otto, German Overseas Banks 138
Diouritch, *The Expansion of German Banks Abroad* . . 139
Kaufmann, *French Banks* 142
Hegemann, French Banks 144
Hulftegger, *The Bank of England* 145
Jaffé, British Banks 145
Mehrens, French Banks 146
Wallich, Concentration of German Banks 146
Zollinger (International Balance-Sheet) and Neymarck 147
Taylor, *Shop Management* 152
Seubert, *The Taylor System in Practice* 156
Gilbreth, *Motion Study* 158
Jeidels, *Relation of the German Big Banks to Industry* 160
Stillich and *World Economy*. A Note 174
Extracts from *Die Bank* 175
Remarks ((on Finance Capital in General)) 195
Tschierschky, *Cartel and Trust* 197
Heymann, *Combined Enterprises* 198
On the Question of Imperialism 201

NOTEBOOK "γ" ("GAMMA") 203

Contents 203
Hoeniger, *Economic Significance of the German Armed Services* 203
Théry, *Economic Europe* 204
Notes on Books by Montesquiou and Estève and on an Article by Revere 205
Lescure, *Savings in France* 206
Hishida, *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power* 207

References from English Sources and *Conrad's Jahrbücher* 208
Patouillet, *American Imperialism* 209
Source References on American Imperialism in Patouillet 212
Moos, "French Credit Institutions and French and English Capital Investments Abroad" 214
Kouznietsow, *The Struggle of Civilisations and Languages in Central Asia* 215
Recent Literature Cited in *Conrad's Jahrbücher* . . . 215
Louis Bruneau, *Germany in France* 218
Bibliographical References from *Conrad's Jahrbücher* 219
Lysis, *Against the Financial Oligarchy in France* . . . 220
Notes on Books by Macrosty, Baumgarten and Meszleny, and Berglund 222
Hubert, *The German Effort* 223
Bérard, *Britain and Imperialism* 223
Lair, *German Imperialism* 225
Briefs, *The Alcohol Cartel* 226
Goldschmidt, *Concentration in the German Coal Industry* 226
Russier, *The Partition of Oceania* 227
Vogelstein, *Capitalist Forms of Organisation in Modern Big Industry* 228
Plan of the Book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* 230
Additions to the Plan of the Book 240
Plans of Separate Chapters of the Book 240
General Plan and Variations of Chapter Headings . . . 242
Tonnelat, *German Expansion Outside Europe* 244
Driault, *Political and Social Problems* 244
Colson, *The Economic Organism and Social Disorder* . . 246
Redslob, *Dependent Countries* 246
Notes for Articles "The 'Disarmarnent' Slogan" and "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" 247
On Zak's Book *Germans and German Capital in Russian Industry* 249
Paul Louis, *Outline of Imperialism* 250
Hill, *History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe* 251
Morris, *The History of Colonisation* 251

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

NOTEBOOK "δ" ("DELTA") 257

Contents 257
Steffen, *World War and Imperialism* 257
Oppenheimer, *British Imperialism* 262
Henger, *French Capital Investments* 263
Kautsky, 1914 and 1915 (on Imperialism, War, and Social-Democracy) 264
Ischchanian, *Foreign Elements in the Russian National Economy* 269
Pannekoek, "State Expenditure and Imperialism" 270

NOTEBOOK "ε" (EPSILON") 272

Contents 272
Capital Invested Abroad 272
Foreign Capital Investments: Arndt 273
Source References 273
The Economist on the War 274
Arguments of the Social Patriots 274
The Daily Telegraph, November 17, 1914 275
Population and Area of the Belligerent and Non-Belligerent Countries 276
The Economist and *The Daily Telegraph* on the War . . 277
Bibliographical Notes and Source References 281
Coal and Iron 282
Trade Union Leaders 283

NOTEBOOK "ζ" ("ZETA") 286

Contents 286
Harms, *World Economy* 286
Supan, *Territorial Development of European Colonies* and Hübner's *Geographical-Statistical Tables* 294
Mutual Accusations 307
"Engineering War" 308
Junius, *The Crisis of Social-Democracy* 309
"The Socialists and Peace" 315
Items in *Le Temps* 316
Brauer on German "Defeatists" 316
Articles and Notes in *Le Temps* 318
"American Arms Suppliers" 318
The Daily Telegraph, April 22 and 23, 1915 319
Articles by Hugo Böttger in *Der Tag* 320

"The Objects of the War", Article in *The Economist* . . 321
Journal de Genève, April 7, 1915 322
Lloyd George on £4,000,000,000 322

NOTEBOOK "η" ("ETA") 324

Contents 324
K. Kautsky, *The National State, etc.* 324
Lensch, *German Social-Democracy and the World War* 325
Article by O. B. "European Alliance of States?" 329
Finance Capital in Russia 330
Barron's Book on the War 331
Lenz on Modern War 332

NOTEBOOK "ϑ" ("THETA") 333

Contents 333
Hilferding, *Finance Capital* 333
The Electric Trust 338
Statistics of Issues 341
Riesser, *German Big Banks and Their Concentration* . . 343

NOTEBOOK "ι" ("IOTA") 373

Contents 373
Liefmann, *Holding and Financing Companies* 373
Die Neue Zeit, 1911 (on War N.B.) and 1912 (Inter Alia, on a United States of Europe) 382
Finanz-Archiv: 1915 386
Statistics of Issues. Eggenschwyler. Crohn (on Argentina) 386
Walter Zollinger, *Balance-Sheet of International Transfers of Securities* 387
Calmes, "Recent Literature on Capital Investment" . . 388
Article by Paish in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, January 1911 389
Mülhaupt, *The Milk Cartel* 391
Capitalist Associations on the War 395
Crammond, Great Britain and Germany 398
Sale, Japan Versus Great Britain 401
Article: "Financial Arrangements and the War Debts of Europe" 403

NOTEBOOK "ϰ" ("KAPPA") 405

J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* 405

NOTEBOOK "λ" ("LAMBDA") 437

Contents 437
Sembat, *Either Peace or a King* 437
List of Quotations from Schulze-Gaevernitz's *British Imperialism* 445
Schulze-Gaevernitz, *British Imperialism* 445

NOTEBOOK "μ" ("MU") 461

Contents 461
Schwarz, *Financial Systems of the Great Powers* . . . 461
Vorwärts No. 103, April 13, 1916 462
Calwer, *An Introduction to the World Economy* . . . 464
Bulletin of the International Statistical Institute . . . 467
Bartholomew, *Atlas of the World's Commerce* . . . 468
Grain in World Trade 474
Railways 484
Die Bank 491
Railway Statistics 492

NOTEBOOK "ν" ("NU") 496

Contents 496
La Revue politique internationale 496
Plehn, *World Politics* 497
Wegener, *India Today* 497
Engels, "Can Europe Disarm?" 499
Marx, *Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*, with an Introduction by Engels 503
Engels, *International Articles from the "Volksstaat"* . 503
Preface, 1894 503
"The Bakuninists at Work" 504
"A Polish Proclamation" 504
"On Social Relations in Russia" 505
Laufenberg, *Organisation, War and Criticism* 506
Wirth, *History of the Modern World* 510
Table of Colonial Seizures and Wars 511
Young Egypt Congress 523
Tardieu, *France and the Alliances* 524
Mévil, *From the Frankfurt Peace to the Algeciras Conference* 525
Political Handbook 526

Germany and the World War. 526
Franke, "The Great Powers in Eastern Asia" 528
Oncken, "Pre-History of the War". 529
Adler, *Imperialist Social Policy*. 529
Siegfried, *New Zealand* 531
Hoetzsch, *Russian Turkestan* 534
Socialism in China 537
Nahas, *The Economic and Social Position of the Egyptian Fellah* 537
Die Neue Zeit, XXX, 1 538
Kautsky, "Mass Action" 538
Link, "Are Savings Banks Charitable Institutions?" . 538
Population Estimates 538

NOTEBOOK "ξ" ("XI") 541

Contents 541
Press Excerpts 541
Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* 545
Ruedorffer, *Basic Features of Contemporary World Politics* 550
Mackay, *China, the Middle Republic. Its Problems and Prospects*. 555
Lucas, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* 561
Belger, *Social-Democracy After the War* 563
Rohrbach, *Why This Is a German War* 565
Waltershausen, *The National Economic System of Capital Investments Abroad* 565
Hennig, *World Communication Routes* 570
Helfferich, *National Welfare in Germany* 570
Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism* 572

NOTEBOOK "o" ("OMICRON") 573

Contents 573
Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1915, No. 1 575
Marx, Article of 1878 on the International and Remarks on the Self-Determination of Nations 576
The Basle Manifesto and the Chemnitz Resolution . . . 576
Die Gleichheit, August 5, 1914 577
"War Against War" 577
"Proletarian Women, Be Prepared!" 578
"Political Survey" 579
Delbrück, *Government and the People's Will* 579

Volksstimme (Chemnitz) 582
"Against Both Juniuses" 582
"Quite Correct!'. 583
Bremer Bürger-Zeitung. 584
"The I.S.D. and the *Internationale* Group 584
Henke, "Not Identical, But the Same" 585
"Yet Another Periodical in Bremen". 586
Literature on the Militia. 586
Lensch on the Militia (1912) 588
Engels on the Working Class in England. 588
Bürkli, "Democratisation of Our Army System" 589
Kautsky 1910 and 1912. 589
Kautsky, "The Copenhagen Congress" 589
Kautsky, "Once More on Disarmament" 590
Kautsky on Religion. 590
Socialists and Negroes in America. 590
Source References. 591
Belfort-Bax on Imperialism (1900) 591
Debs 592
Italian and Polish Workers in Switzerland 593
The Labour Movement in Canada 593
Lissagaray, *History of the 1871 Commune* 594
Monopoly and Technique 594
Lensch, *Social-Democracy, Its End and Its Successes* . . 595
Perrin de Boussac, *On the Colonial Army* and *Labour Bibliography* 598
Chemnitz *Volksstimme* 598
"Betrayal of the Party Is Betrayal of the Nation" 598
Leipziger Volkszeitung 601
Party Affairs 601
Marx on France's War for Freedom (January 1871), on Ireland, and on the Coming War (1874) 602
Ulbricht, Nationality and Imperialism 604
"Epochs" of Modern History. 611
Der Kampf Magazine. 612
Adler and Renner 612
Hilferding (Kautskyite Views) 613
Engels and Marx on the English Workers 615
Kautsky, "Patriotism, War, and Social-Democracy". . . 617
Bauer, *The National Question and Social-Democracy* . . 618
Grumbach, *The Mistake of Zimmerwald-Kienthal* . . . 620
Engels, Letters to Sorge 621

Die Glocke Magazine 623
Ernst Heilmann, "The Heart of the Dispute" 623
Liebknecht and Marx (Letter to Liebknecht, 1878) . . . 625
The Japanese and the Chauvinism of the American Workers 627
Greulich and the *Grütlianer* 628
Greulich, "Open Letter to the Hottinger Grütli-Verein" 628
"Stones Instead of Bread" 629
"Fundamental Divergence in Appraisal" 629
"No Essential Differences Divide Us!" 630
"The 'Nationalist Chaff' Is Separating from the Internationalist Socialist Wheat'" 630
"Notes for a Lecture" 630
"Naturalisation of Foreigners" 630
"Party or Grütli-Verein?" 630
"Trade Unions and the Military Question" 630
Schweizerische Metallarbeiter-Zeitung 632
E. Th. "Survey" 632
"Survey (Another Point of View)" 632
Neue Rheinische Zeitung 633
A Saying of Saint-Simon's 637

NOTEBOOK "BRAILSFORD" 638

Contents 638
Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold* 638

NOTEBOOK "ON MARXISM AND IMPERIALISM" 653

Contents 653
Mehring, "New Contributions to the Biography of Marx and Engels" 653
"Foreign Wage-Reducers and the Attitude of the International" 657
Seeley, *The Expansion of England* 659
P. Dehn, *German Colonial and World Policy* 662

NOTEBOOK "IMPERIALISM" 669

Contents 669
Reventlow, *German Foreign Policy, 1888-1913* 669
Kautsky, *Socialism and Colonial Policy* 670
Engels, Letter of September 12, 1882 671
Quadflieg, *The Russian Policy of Expansion, 1774-1914* 673

NOTEBOOK "EGELHAAF" 680

Egelhaaf, *History of Recent Times* 680
Chief Crises in the International Policy of the Great Powers After 1870-71 686
Essayed Summary of World History Data After 1870 ((Egelhaaf and Other Sources)) 688
Outline of Plan for "Essayed Summary of World History Data After 1870" 706

FROM THE NOTEBOOK "AUSTRIAN AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS", ETC. 707

Distribution Colonies Among the Imperialist States 707

NOTEBOOK "DATA ON PERSIA" 719

Contents 719
Demorgny, *The Persian Question and the War* 719
Jaeger, *Persia and the Persian Question* 722

MISCELLANIOUS NOTES, 1912-16 729

Plan of an Article on Syndicates 731
Oil Output and Prices in America 732
Bebel on a War of Germany Against Russia 732
Die Neue Zeit, 1912-13 733
Notes on Defeat of One's Own Country in the Imperialist War 734
Notes for Lecture on "Imperialism and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" 735
On the National Question 735
Outline of Lecture 736
Theses 737
Imperialism and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (*Outline*) 738
Introduction 738
I. The Economic Standpoint 739
II. The Historical Standpoint 739
III. The Political Standpoint 739
IV. The Standpoint of State Frontiers 740
V. The Standpoint of the Proletariat's International Class Struggle 740
VI. "Practical Feasibility" 740

VII. The Military Standpoint 740
VIII. The Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism 741
IX. Comparison with Divorce 741
X. The Case of Weill 741
XI. Attitude of the Liberal Bourgeoisie 741
XII. Experience of the R.S.D.L.P. 742
XIII. The Example of Marx and Engels 742
XIV. The Zimmerwald Left "Formula" 742
E. Corradini, *Italian Nationalism* 742
Nitti, Foreign *Capital in Italy* 743
R. Liefmann, "Does the War Bring Socialism Nearer?" 743
Conrad's Jahrbücher, 1915, No. 2, August 745
Papers of the Society for Social Policy 745
"Social-Imperialism and Left Radicalism" 746
E. Rappard, *Towards National Agreement* 747
A Good Summary of Comparative Figures 748
A. B. Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine* 752
Eug. Philippovich, "Monopolies" 752
Journal de Genève, April 18, 1916 753
Potassium Consumption in Various Countries 753
Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik 753
Imperialism and the Split in Socialism 754
Plan of Article 754
Concerning the Definition of Imperialism 755
Plan Variant 755
Leuthner, "Russian National Imperialism" 756
Gazeta Robotnicza's Theses on Imperialism and National Oppression (Summary) 757
Imperialism and the Attitude Towards It 758
Plan of an Article on Kautskyism 759
Fragment of an Article 761
Literature Lists 761
Lenin's Request Cards at the Zurich Cantonal Library 765

Notes 771

Index of Sources 792

Name Index 828

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. LENIN, *1917* 2-3

Page 107 of Notebook “β” (“Beta”) 74-75

Pages 30 and 31 of Notebook “γ” (“Gamma”) 208-09

Page 3 of Notebook “ζ” (“Zeta”) 276-77

Page 20 of Notebook “ξ” (“Xi”) 460-61

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

40

Notebooks on the Agrarian Question

1900–1916

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 13

I

PLANS AND OUTLINES OF WORKS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

PLAN OF "THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE 'CRITICS OF MARX'" 29

CONTENTS OF "THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE 'CRITICS OF MARX'". 38

CONTENTS OF CHAPTERS V-IX OF "THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE 'CRITICS OF MARX'" 39

MARXIST VIEWS OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA. *Outline of Lectures* 40

First Variant 40
Second Variant 44

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES AND OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. *Outline of Lectures* 53

First Variant 53
Second Variant 59
Plans and Outlines of Concluding Speech 64
Preliminary Plan 64
Summary of Preliminary Plan 64
Resumé of Lecture 65
Plan of Lecture Resumé 67
Resumé of Lecture 67

THE PEASANTRY AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 69

II

CRITIQUE OF BOURGEOIS LITERATURE AND ANALYSIS OF MASSIVE AGRARIAN STATISTICS 1900-1903

CRITICAL REMARKS ON S. BULGAKOV'S BOOK, *CAPITALISM AND AGRICULTURE*, VOLS. I AND II, PUBLISHED IN 1900 73

PLAN OF OBJECTIONS TO BULGAKOV'S BOOK 87

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE WORKS OF S. BULGAKOV AND F. BENSING 88

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF F. HERTZ'S BOOK, *THE AGRARIAN QUESTIONS IN RELATION TO SOCIALISM* 96

Plans of Objections to F. Hertz's Book 104

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM O. PRINGSHEIM'S ARTICLE, "AGRICULTURAL MANUFACTURE AND ELECTRIFIED AGRICULTURE" 107

CRITICAL REMARKS ON E. DAVID'S ARTICLE, "THE PEASANT BARBARIANS" 111

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM M. HECHT'S BOOK, *THREE VILLAGES IN THE HARD OF BADEN* 116

ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL FROM H. AUHAGEN'S ARTICLE, "ON LARGE- AND SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE" 126

CRITICAL REMARKS ON K. KLAWKI'S ARTICLE, "THE COMPETITIVE CAPACITY OF SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION IN AGRICULTURE" 138

BRASE AND OTHERS 160

a. Analysis of Data from Brase's Article, "Study of the Influence of Farm Debt on Farming" 160

b. Bibliographical Notes and Annotations 168

CRITICAL REMARKS ON A. SOUCHON'S BOOK, *PEASANT PROPERTY*. 170

CRITICAL REMARKS ON F. MAURICE'S BOOK, *AGRICULTURE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION. AGRICULTURAL AND AGRARIAN FRANCE* 173

REMARKS ON A. CHŁAPOWO-CHŁAPOWSKI'S BOOK, *AGRICULTURE IN BELGIUM IN THE 19TH CENTURY* 178

REMARKS ON THE MATERIAL OF THE BADEN INQUIRY 180

REMARKS ON M. E. SEIGNOURET'S BOOK, *ESSAYS ON SOCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS* 186

FROM GERMAN AGRARIAN STATISTICS 189

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE BOOK, *AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF FRANCE, GENERAL RESULTS OF THE 1892 DECENNIAL INQUIRY* 218

SUMMARISED DATA ON FARMS IN GERMANY, FRANCE, BELGIUM, BRITAIN, U.S.A. AND DENMARK FROM THE CENSUSES OF THE 1880s AND 1890s 224

FROM THE DUTCH AGRICULTURAL INQUIRY OF 1890 226

REMARKS ON E. STUMPFE'S WORKS. 231

A. An Analysis of Data from Stumpfe's Article, "On the Competitiveness of Small and Medium Land Holdings as Compared with Large Land Holdings" 231

B. Remarks on E. Stumpfe's Book, *Small Holdings and Grain Prices* 240

REMARKS ON G. FISCHER'S WORK, THE SOCIAL *IMPORTANCE OF MACHINERY IN AGRICULTURE* 248

NOTE ON P. TUROT'S BOOK, *AGRICULTURAL INQUIRY 1866-1870* 257

REMARKS ON H. BAUDRILLART'S BOOK, *THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF FRANCE*. PART III. *THE POPULATION OF THE SOUTH*. 258

REMARKS ON E. COULET'S BOOK, *THE SYNDICALIST AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN FRENCH AGRICULTURE*. THE AGRICULTURAL FEDERATION 260

REMARKS ON G. ROUANET'S ARTICLE, "ON THE DANGER AND THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURAL SYNDICATES" 261

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM NOSSIG'S BOOK, *REVISION OF SOCIALISM*. VOL. II. *THE CONTEMPORARY AGRARIAN QUESTION* 263

CRITICAL REMARKS ON E. DAVID'S BOOK, *SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE* 265

A. 265
B. 281

EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOK, *HAND AND MACHINE LABOR* 282

ANALYSIS OF L. HUSCHKE'S DATA (ON SMALL-SCALE AGRICULTURE) 287

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

III

MATERIAL FOR A STUDY OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES
1910-1916

GERMAN AGRARIAN STATISTICS (1907) 297

PLAN FOR PROCESSING THE DATA OF THE GERMAN AGRICULTURAL CENSUS OF JUNE 12, 1907 372

DANISH STATISTICS 376

AUSTRIAN AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS 383

REMARKS ON SCHMELZLE'S ARTICLE, "DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL LAND HOLDINGS, ITS INFLUENCE ON THE PRODUCTIVITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE" 397

REMARKS ON E. LAUR'S BOOK, *STATISTICAL NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SWISS AGRICULTURE OVER THE LAST 25 YEARS* 402

REMARKS ON E. JORDI'S BOOK, *THE ELECTRIC MOTOR IN AGRICULTURE* 406

CAPITALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 408

- Outline of Introduction. American Agricultural Censuses 408
- Variants of Plan 408
- Variants of Title 411
- Extracts from Different Variants 412
- Variants of Contents 414

REMARKS ON AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS 416

AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS 421

Notes 489

Index of Sources 519

Name Index 539

ILLUSTRATIONS

Lenin's manuscript, Contents of "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'". Earlier than February 1906. . . . 38-39

Lenin's manuscript, "The Peasantry and Social-Democracy" Not earlier than September 1904 68-69

Pages 8 and 9 of Lenin's manuscript, "German Agrarian Statistics (1907)". September 1910-1913 298-299

Page 12 of Lenin's manuscript, "American Agricultural Statistics". Between May 5 (18), 1914 and December 29, 1915 (January 11, 1916). 426-427

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
41

1896 – October 1917

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 27

1896-1904

COMMUNICATION ON BEHALF OF THE "STARIKI" TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ST. PETERSBURG LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS 33

FOR THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH STRUVE 34

SECRET DOCUMENT 35

REMARKS ON RYAZANOV'S ARTICLE "TWO TRUTHS" 36

MATERIAL FOR WORKING OUT THE R.S.D.L.P. PROGRAMME 38

1. OUTLINE OF VARIOUS POINTS OF THE PRACTICAL SECTION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 38
2. OUTLINE OF PLEKHANOV'S FIRST DRAFT PROGRAMME WITH SOME AMENDMENTS 39
3. RECORD OF POINTS ONE AND TWO OF PLEKHANOV'S FIRST DRAFT PROGRAMME, AND OUTLINE OF POINT ONE OF THE PROGRAMME'S THEORETICAL SECTION. 42
4. INITIAL VARIANT OF THE THEORETICAL SECTION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 43
5. OUTLINES OF PLAN OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 47
6. INITIAL VARIANT OF THE AGRARIAN SECTION AND THE CONCLUDING SECTION OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 48
7. OUTLINES OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 49
8. ADDENDA TO THE AGRARIAN AND FACTORY SECTIONS OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME 53

REPLIES TO PLEKHANOV'S AND AXELROD'S REMARKS ON THE ARTICLE "THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY" 53

INTRODUCTION TO THE LEAFLET OF THE DON COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. "TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA" 69

INTRODUCTION TO THE LEAFLET "TO THE CITIZENS OF ALL RUSSIA" 70

PLAN FOR A PAMPHLET AGAINST THE S.R.s 70

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. July 17 (30)-August 10 (23), 1903 78

1. PROGRAMME OF THE R.S.D.L.P. REGULAR SECOND CONGRESS 78
2. SPEECHES DURING THE EXAMINATION OF THE LIST OF QUESTIONS SUBJECT TO DEBATE AT THE CONGRESS. *July 17 (30)* 85
   1 85
   2 85
3. SPEECH ON THE ACTIONS OF THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE. *July 18 (31)* 85
4. SPEECH ON THE ATTENDANCE OF THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE CONGRESS. *July 18 (31)* 86
5. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE GENERAL SECTION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME. *July 29 (August 11)* 86
6. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME *July 30 (August 12)* 86
   1 86
   2 87
   3 87
7. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME. *July 31 (August 13)* 87
8. PROPOSALS ON VARIOUS POINTS OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME . 87
9. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE SECTION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME RELATING TO LABOUR PROTECTION. *July 31 (August 13)* 88
   1 88
   2 88
10. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME. *August 1 (14)* 88
    1 88
    2 89
    3 89
    4 89
    5 89
    6 90
    7 90

11. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE PARTY RULES. *August 2 (15)* 90
12. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE PARTY RULES. *August 4 (17)* 91
1 91
2 91
3 91
4 91
5 92
13. ADDENDUM TO PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE DRAFT PARTY RULES 92
14. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE PARTY RULES. *August 5 (18)* 92
1 92
2 93
3 93
4 93
15. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE STATEMENT BY MARTYNOV AND AKIMOV. *August 5 (18)* 93
16. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE STATEMENT BY MARTYNOV AND AKIMOV. *August 5 (18)* 94
1 94
2 94
17. ADDENDUM TO MARTOV'S RESOLUTION ON THE BUND'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE R.S.D.L.P. . . . 95
18. SPEECH DURING THE ELECTION OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *August 7 (20)* 95
19. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION OF POTRESOV (STAROVER) ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE LIBERALS. *August 10 (23)* 96
THE LAW ON COMPENSATION PAYABLE TO WORKERS INJURED IN ACCIDENTS 96
TO THE MINUTES COMMITTEE OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 103
TO THE MINUTES COMMITTEE OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. 104
THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY ABROAD. October 13-18 (26-31), 1903 104
1. REMARKS ON THE AGENDA. *October 13 (26)* 104
1 104

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

2 105
3 105
2. PREFATORY REMARK TO THE REPORT ON THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 13* (*26*) 105
3. STATEMENT CONCERNING MARTOV'S REPORT. *October 16* (*29*) 106
4. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE LEAGUE RULES. *October 17* (*30*) 106
1 106
2 106
5. SPEECH ON THE RESULT OF THE VOTING OF THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE LEAGUE RULES. *October 17* (*30*) 107
DECISION OF THE PARTY COUNCIL. *Geneva. November 1, 1903* 107
R.S.D.L.P. COUNCIL. January 15-17 (*28-30*), *1904* 108
1. REMARK ON A POINT OF ORDER. *January 15* (*28*) . . 108
2. REMARKS ON THE AGENDA. *January 16* (*29*) 108
1 108
2 108
3. SPEECH MOTIONING A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN THE PARTY. *January 16* (*29*) 109
4. SPEECH CONCERNING THE MINORITY OPINION ENTERED BY THE C.C. REPRESENTATIVES. *January 17* (*30*) 109
5. SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE MINORITY OPINION OF THE C.C. REPRESENTATIVES. *January 17* (*30*) 110
6. REMARK ON THE AGENDA. *January 17* (*30*) 110
7. DRAFT RESOLUTION MOVED ON JANUARY 17 (30) . 110
ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY 111
TO THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT 111
THREE OUTLINES FOR A REPORT ON THE PARIS COMMUNE 113
1 113
2 119
3 121
R.S.D.L.P. COUNCIL. May 31 and June 5 (*June 13 and 18*) *1904* 122

1. REMARK ON THE AGENDA. *May 31* (*June 13*) 122
2. SPEECHES ON AN INTER-PARTY CONFERENCE. *May 31* (*June 13*) 122
1 122
2 122
3. SPEECHES ON R.S.D.L.P. REPRESENTATION AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS. *May 31* (*June 13*) 123
1 123
2 123
3 123
4. REMARK ON THE NEED OF CONTROL OVER THE GNCHAK NEWSPAPER. *May 31* (*June 13*) 124
5. MOTION OF AMENDMENT TO MARTOV'S RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHT OF THE C.O. AND THE C.C. TO RECALL THEIR REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE PARTY COUNCIL. *June 5* (*18*) 124
6. SPEECH ON CO-OPTATION TO THE COMMITTEES AND ON THE C.C.'S RIGHT TO APPOINT NEW MEMBERS. *June 5* (*18*) 124
7. SPEECHES ON THE VOTING PROCEDURE IN DECIDING THE QUESTION OF CONVENING THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *June 5* (*18*) 125
1 125
2 125
3 125
4 126
8. SPEECHES ON THE QUESTION OF PUBLISHING THE MINUTES OF THE PARTY COUNCIL SITTINGS. *June 5* (*18*) 126
1 126
2 127
3 127
STATEMENT ON THE TRANSFER OF THE POWERS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. C.C. REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD 127
DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE MAJORITY'S GENEVA GROUP 127
PLANS FOR AN ARTICLE "THE PEASANTRY AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY" 129
1 129
2 129
PLAN FOR A PROPAGANDA TALK ON CRISES 131

PLAN FOR THREE TALKS ON THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME 132
NOTE BY THE *VPERYOD* EDITORIAL BOARD TO THE LETTER OF THEIR ST. PETERSBURG CORRESPONDENT 133
OUTLINE OF THESES FOR AN ARTICLE "HOW THEY DEFEND THEMSELVES" 134
STATEMENT BY THE GROUP OF FOUNDERS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. LIBRARY AT GENEVA 136

1905-1910

PLAN FOR AN ARTICLE "1895 AND 1905 (SHORT PARALLEL)" 137
A MILITANT AGREEMENT FOR THE UPRISING AND THE FORMATION OF A COMBAT COMMITTEE 138
RECORD OF SPEECHES AT THE GENEVA BOLSHEVIK CLUB. *Minutes of March 6, 1905* 139
I. 139
II. 140
III. 141
NOTE BY THE *VPERYOD* EDITORIAL BOARD TO A RESOLUTION BY A GROUP OF WORKERS OF THE ST. PETERSBURG METALWORKS 141
THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 12-27 (*April 25-May 10*), *1905* 142
1. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS OF THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE FOR CONVENING THE THIRD CONGRESS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF CERTAIN ORGANISATIONS 142
2. O.C. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS. 144
3. SPEECH ON THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT CONCERNING THE KAZAN COMMITTEE'S REPRESENTATION AT THE CONGRESS. *April 13* (*26*) 145
4. AMENDMENT TO A CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE PROPOSAL ON THE KAZAN COMMITTEE'S REPRESENTATION AT THE CONGRESS. *April 13* (*26*) 146
5. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF A DEBATE ON THE O.C. REPORT. *April 13* (*26*) 146
6. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE DEBATE ON THE O.C. REPORT 147
7. DRAFT AGENDA OF THE THIRD PARTY CONGRESS 147
8. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE CONGRESS AGENDA. *April 13* (*26*) 148
9. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE CONGRESS STANDING ORDERS. *April 13* (*26*) 148

10. SPEECH MOTIONING A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON ELECTION OF COMMITTEES TO EXAMINE DELEGATES' REPORTS AND TO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. *April 13* (*26*) 149
11. STATEMENTS TO THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS 150
1 150
2 150
12. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE'S REPORT. *April 14* (*27*) 151
13. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CONFIRMATION OF THE KAZAN AND KUBAN COMMITTEES 151
14. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PROCEDURE GOVERNING VOTING AT THE CONGRESS 151
15. REMARKS ON RUMYANTSEV'S DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF OPEN POLITICAL ACTION BY THE R.S.D.L.P. 152
16. THESES FOR A RESOLUTION ON THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS' PARTICIPATION IN A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT 153
17. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF OPEN POLITICAL ACTION BY THE R.S.D.L.P. *April 19* (*May 2*) 155
18. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT'S TACTICS ON THE EVE OF A REVOLUTION. *April 19* (*May 2*) 155
1 155
2 155
19. RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE PEASANT MOVEMENT 156
20. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CONGRESS 157
21. OUTLINE OF A SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS . . 157
22. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE PARTY RULES. *April 21* (*May 4*) 158
1 158
2 158
3 158
4 158
5 159
6 159
7 159
8 159

23. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON GENERAL MEETING OF THE C.C. *April 21* (*May 4*) 159
24. SPEECH ON THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE KAZAN COMMITTEE'S REPRESENTATION. *April 22* (*May 5*) 160
25. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS. *April 22* (*May 5*) 160
26. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION TO THE PARTY RULES ON PERIODIC CONFERENCES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS PARTY ORGANISATIONS. *April 22* (*May 5*) 161
1 161
2 161
27. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE SPLINTER SECTION OF THE PARTY 161
28. SPEECH ON RUMYANTSEV'S RESOLUTION ON THE SPLINTER SECTION OF THE PARTY. *April 23* (*May 6*) 162
29. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS NON-RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS. *April 23* (*May 6*) . 162
30. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF THE ATTITUDE TO THE LIBERALS. *April 23* (*May 6*) 163
31. SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE C.C. *April 25* (*May 8*) 163
32. PROPOSAL ON PROCEDURE GOVERNING ELECTION TO THE C.C. *April 25* (*May 8*) 164
33. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TIME OF THE C.C.'S ENTRY INTO OFFICE 164
34. SPEECH ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *April 25* (*May 8*) 164
35. AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION 165
36. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE EVENTS IN THE CAUCASUS. *April 26* (*May 9*) 165
1 165
2 166

PLAN FOR A REPORT ON THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. AND ITS DECISIONS 166

REMARKS ON THE ARTICLE "ON A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT" 168
ESSAY ON THE PARTY SPLIT 168
THE LATEST NEWS REPORT 169
NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE FOR PUBLICATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE R.S.D.L.P. THIRD CONGRESS TO THE TEXT OF THE MINUTES 170
DRAFT LEAFLET 171
OUTLINE OF TACTICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BOLSHEVIKS AND MENSHEVIKS OVER THE ATTITUDE TO THE BULYGIN DUMA 172
REMARKS ON THE QUESTION OF ELECTIONS TO THE BULYGIN DUMA 173
PLAN FOR AN ARTICLE "THE PRINCIPAL TASK OF SOCIALIST POLICY" 174
NOTE 175
RUSSIA'S FINANCES 176
INSERTIONS FOR V. KALININ'S ARTICLE "THE PEASANT CONGRESS" 177
1 177
2 177
SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE POWERS OF REPRESENTATION OF THE DISTRICT AND THE VYBORG ORGANISATIONS AT THE ST. PETERSBURG CITY CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *February 11* (*24*), *1906* . . 178
1 178
2 178
3 179
4 179
5 179
THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 10-25 (*April 23-May 8*), *1906* 179
1. SPEECHES AT THE SECOND SITTING OF THE CONGRESS CONCERNING THE ROLL-CALL VOTE ON THE WRITTEN STATEMENTS SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS BUREAU 179
1 179
2 180
2. SPEECH AT THE THIRD SITTING OF THE CONGRESS . 180

3. PROPOSAL ON FORMULATING POINT VIII OF THE DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE CONGRESS 180
4. WRITTEN STATEMENT AT THE 15TH SITTING OF THE CONGRESS 181
5. SPEECH AT THE 24TH SITTING OF THE CONGRESS . 181
AMONG THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 181
AMONG THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 182
AMONG THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 183
AMONG THE NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES 185
THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. (*FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE*), *November 3-7* (*16-20*), *1906* . . . 186
1. REPORT ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN FOR THE SECOND DUMA. *November 4* (*17*) 186
2. SUMMING-UP SPEECH ON THE REPORT ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN FOR THE SECOND DUMA. *November 4* (*17*) 187
3. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE MENSHEVIK ELECTORAL PLATFORM. *November 6* (*19*) 187
4. SPEECHES ON THE QUESTION OF CONVENING A "LABOUR CONGRESS". *November 7* (*20*) 188
1 188
2 188
5. MINORITY OPINION ENTERED AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON BEHALF OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES OF POLAND, THE LATVIAN TERRITORY, ST. PETERSBURG, MOSCOW, THE CENTRAL INDUSTRIAL REGION AND THE VOLGA AREA 188
LABOUR CONGRESS AND MERGER WITH THE S.R.s (*Note*) . 191
REPORT AT A CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON ELECTORAL AGREEMENTS IN ELECTIONS FOR THE SECOND DUMA. *January 6* (*19*), *1907*. *Brief Newspaper Report* 193
ARE THE MENSHEVIKS ENTITLED TO CONDUCT A POLICY OF SUPPORTING THE CADETS? 194
REPLY TO L. MARTOV 196
THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. April 30-May 19 (*May 13-June 1*), *1907* 197
1. SPEECH AGAINST THE PROPOSAL TO CLOSE THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONGRESS AGENDA. *May 1* (*14*) 197

2. SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE NAME-TICKET VOTE METHOD. *May 2* (*15*) 197
3. SPEECHES FROM THE CHAIR AT THE SIXTH SITTING OF THE CONGRESS. *May 3* (*16*) 198
1 198
2 198
4. OBJECTION TO LIEBER'S AMENDMENT TO THE BOLSHEVIK RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS ON THE ATTITUDE TO BOURGEOIS PARTIES. *May 15* (*28*) 198
5. SPEECH ON DESIGNATING THE CONGRESS. *May 19* (*June 1*) 199
ON THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT AT THE CURRENT STAGE OF THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION . . 199
NOTES TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE STUTTGART CONGRESS ON "MILITARISM AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS" . . . 200
NOTES TO CLARA ZETKIN'S ARTICLE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN STUTTGART" 201
ANTI-MILITARIST PROPAGANDA AND YOUNG SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUES 204
HOW THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES WRITE HISTORY . . 207
THE THIRD DUMA AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 209
PLENARY MEETING OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE. August 11-13 (*24-26*), *1908* 216
1. STATEMENT ON THE CONVOCATION OF THE C.C. PLENARY MEETING 216
2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE INCIDENT OVER THE CONVOCATION OF THE C.C. PLENARY MEETING . . . 217
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL BUREAU ABROAD 217
THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. December 21-27, 1908 (*January 3-9*, *1909*) 218
1. OUTLINE OF SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF ORGANISATION 218
2. EXPLANATION TO SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF ORGANISATION 219
3. PROPOSAL ON PROCEDURE FOR VOTING RESOLUTIONS 219
4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PUBLICATION OF CONFERENCE DECISIONS 220

5. STATEMENT OF FACT 220
6. STATEMENT CONCERNING THE MENSHEVIK DRAFT ON LIQUIDATING THE C.C. 220
PLAN FOR LECTURES ON MARXISM 221
CONFERENCE OF THE ENLARGED EDITORIAL BOARD OF "PROLETARY". June 8-17 (21-30), 1909 222
1. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON AGITATION FOR A BOLSHEVIK CONGRESS OR A BOLSHEVIK CONFERENCE SEPARATE FROM THE PARTY. *June 8 (21)* 222
1 222
2 223
2. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF OTZOVISM AND ULTIMATUMISM. *June 9 (22)* 223
3. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE PARTY SCHOOL ON CAPRI. *June 10 (23)* 225
4. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE FACTION'S UNITY. *June 12 (25)* 226
5. FIRST SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF BOLSHEVIK TASKS RELATING TO DUMA ACTIVITY. *June 12 (25)* 227
6. ADDENDUM TO THE RESOLUTION "ON THE ATTITUDE TO DUMA ACTIVITY AMONG THE OTHER BRANCHES OF PARTY WORK" 228
7. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE PARTY PRESS. *June 15 (28)* 229
8. SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF PUBLISHING PHILOSOPHICAL ARTICLES IN THE CENTRAL ORGAN. *June 15 (28)* 229
9. PROPOSAL ON THE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR A NEWSPAPER OF THE DUMA GROUP. *June 16 (29)* . 229
10. SPEECHES AND PROPOSALS IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF REORGANISING THE BOLSHEVIK CENTRE. *June 17 (30)* 230
1 230
2 230
3 230
4 230
PLAN FOR A LECTURE "THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN COPENHAGEN AND ITS IMPORTANCE" . . . 230

1911-1914

PLAN FOR A LECTURE IN A COURSE ON "FUNDAMENTALS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY". *Lecture IV* 232

MEETING OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. May 28-June 4 (June 10-17), 1911 233

1. REPORT ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PARTY . 233
2. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF CONSTITUTING THE MEETING. *May 28 (June 10)* . 237
   1 237
   2 237
   3 238
   4 238
3. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF CONVENING A C.C PLENARY MEETING, *May 30 (June 12)* 239
   1 239
   2 239
   3 239
   4 240
4. PROPOSAL FOR RESOLUTION ON CONVENING A PARTY CONFERENCE 240
5. STATEMENT 240

STATEMENT 241

INSERTION FOR L. B. KAMENEV'S PAMPHLET *TWO PARTIES* 241

PLAN FOR A LECTURE "MANIFESTO OF THE LIBERAL LABOUR PARTY" 242

PROPOSAL ON RULES FOR THE ORGANISATION ABROAD MOTIONED AT A MEETING OF BOLSHEVIK GROUPS ABROAD 243

OUTLINE OF A REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION . 243

THE SIXTH (PRAGUE) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. January 5-17 (18-30), 1912 245

1. TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION "ON THE RUSSIAN ORGANISING COMMISSION FOR CONVENING THE CONFERENCE" 245
2. OUTLINE OF SPEECH ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFERENCE 246
3. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. *January 7 (20), 1912* 247
4. SPEECH ON THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION ON COMBATING THE FAMINE. *January 8 (21), 1912* . . . 249

5. DRAFT CHANGES IN THE PARTY'S ORGANISATIONAL RULES 249
6. SPEECH ON THE ORGANISATIONAL QUESTION. *January 11* (*24*), *1912* 250
7. TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION "ON THE CHARACTER AND ORGANISATIONAL FORMS OF PARTY WORK" 252
8. MATERIAL FOR THE RESOLUTION ON THE "PETITION CAMPAIGN" 252

PLAN FOR A LECTURE "REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT" 254

ROSA LUXEMBURG AND THE POLISH "PARTEI" VORSTAND IN MARTOV'S WAKE 255

REPLY TO LIQUIDATORS' ARTICLE IN *LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG* 260

TO ALL THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA 262

ON POLITICAL SPINELESSNESS (*Letter to the Editor*) . . . 266

REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, "ELECTIONS TO THE FOURTH DUMA" 267

MORE ABOUT THE PEASANT DEPUTIES IN THE FOURTH DUMA 271

RESOLUTION OF THE CRACOW MEETING OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH PARTY FUNCTIONARIES ON THE REORGANISATION AND WORK OF THE PRAVDA EDITORIAL BOARD 272

LETTER TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY 274

PRAVDA'S ANNIVERSARY (*Workers' Support for the Working Class Newspaper*) 278

THE STRUGGLE OF PARTIES IN CHINA 281

CONCERNING THE EDITORIAL IN THE NEWSPAPER *LUCH* No. 189 283

LANDOWNERS ON THE MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR 285

WORKING-CLASS PARTY AND LIBERAL RIDERS (*On Potresov*) 287

CAPITALISTS AND ARMAMENTS 288

CHEAP MEAT FOR THE "PEOPLE" 289

DRAFT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE R.S.D.L.P. C.C. AND THE PRIBOI GROUP ON ITS RECOGNITION AS THE R.S.D.L.P. C.C. PUBLISHERS 291

THE OCTOBRISTS AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT 292

ON THE "JUBILEE OF THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA" . 294
DRAFT RESOLUTION BY WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS ON THE SLANDEROUS LIQUIDATORS' CHARGE AGAINST INSURANCE WORKER X 296
RUSSIAN WORKERS' ASSESSMENT OF THE SPLIT IN THE DUMA SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP 296
OUTLINE OF A REPORT TO LOCAL ORGANISATIONS ON THE PORONIN JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. C.C. AND PARTY FUNCTIONARIES (1913) 297
ON THE QUESTION OF THE BUREAU'S NEXT STEPS . . . 299
THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE'S TEACHERS 300
RUSSIAN WORKERS AND THE INTERNATIONAL 302
HOW THE LIQUIDATORS ARE CHEATING THE WORKERS . 305
RESOLUTION ON THE SOCIALIST BUREAU'S DECISION . . . 308
ABOUT OUR SCHOOLS 310
THE DUMA GROUP AND THE MAJORITY OUTSIDE 311
THESES FOR A LECTURE ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION . 313
INSERTION FOR N. K. KRUPSKAYA'S ARTICLE "ON THE QUESTION OF THE POLICY OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION" 323
THE FOURTH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS OF THE LATVIAN TERRITORY. January 13-26 (January 26-February 8), 1914 324
1. REPORT OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT THE FOURTH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS OF THE LATVIAN TERRITORY 324
2. SUMMING-UP SPEECH AT THE FOURTH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS OF THE LATVIAN TERRITORY 327
3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS OF THE LATVIAN TERRITORY TO THE R.S.D.L.P. 329
RESOLUTION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON SETTING UP AN ORGANISATIONAL SECTION OF THE C.C. TO DIRECT ILLEGAL WORK 330
REVIEW. I. M. Kozminykh-Lanin. *Overtime at Factories and Plants in Moscow Gubernia* 331
DECISION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE . . . 334
POLISH OPPOSITION AT THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE . . . 334
PLANS FOR AN ARTICLE "REVOLUTION AND WAR" . . . 335
1 335
2 335

1914-1917

ON THE SLOGAN TO TRANSFORM THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR 337

PLAN FOR A PAMPHLET *THE EUROPEAN WAR AND EUROPEAN SOCIALISM* 337

TO THE AUTHOR OF *THE SONG OF THE FALCON* 344

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE ARTICLE "THE UKRAINE AND THE WAR" 345

DRAFT POINT THREE OF THE RESOLUTION "THE C.O. AND THE NEW PAPER", ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. SECTIONS ABROAD 346

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 346

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD. August 25-26 (*September 5-8*), *1915* . . . 349

1. VARIANT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF LEFT-WING SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS FOR THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE 349
2. THESES FOR A REPORT AT A MEETING OF LEFT-WING SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS 351
3. PLAN FOR A SPEECH AT THE ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE 352
4. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE MANIFESTO AND THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE WAR AND THE TASKS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY. *August 26* (*September 7*) 353

   1 353

   2 354
5. ADDENDA TO THE STATEMENT BY THE ZIMMERWALD LEFT 355

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION 355

AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE APPEAL "TO ALL AFFILIATED PARTIES AND GROUPS", ADOPTED BY A CONFERENCE OF THE ENLARGED INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMISSION 356

PLAN FOR A LECTURE ON "TWO INTERNATIONALS" . . . 358-59

NOTE TO THE THESES "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION" . . . 366

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO TERMINATE PUBLICATION OF THE JOURNAL *KOMMUNIST* 367

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT KIENTHAL. April 11-17 (24-30), 1916 369

1. INITIAL VARIANT OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE PROPOSAL 369

2. SPEECHES IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON CONVENING THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU *April 15, (28)* 379

1 379

2 380

3 380

ON THE DECLARATION BY THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE 380

PLAN FOR AN ARTICLE "ON THE QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE" 381

THESES ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SWISS SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO THE WAR 382

REMARKS ON AN ARTICLE ABOUT MAXIMALISM 384

PLANS FOR A PAMPHLET *STATISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY* . 387

1 387

2 389

3 390

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CENTRE AS A TREND IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY 391

PLAN FOR AN ARTICLE "THE LESSONS OF THE WAR" . . 393

OUTLINE OF FIFTH "LETTER FROM AFAR" 394

REPLIES TO A CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEWSPAPER *POLITIKEN*. MARCH 31 (APRIL 13), 1917 396

REPLY TO F. STRÖM, A SPOKESMAN OF THE LEFT-WING SWEDISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. MARCH 31 (APRIL 13), 1917 396

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARIES' TRIP ACROSS GERMANY. *Commiuniqué of the Group* 397

SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE WITH LEFT-WING SWEDISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. MARCH 31 (APRIL 13), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 398

SPEECH IN THE FINLAND STATION SQUARE TO WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS. APRIL 3 (16), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 399

"LIBERTY LOAN" (*Draft Resolution Worked Out by the Bolshevik Group of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies*) 399

PETROGRAD CITY R.S.D.L.P.(B.) CONFERENCE. April 14-22 (April 27-May 5), 1917 400

1. REPORT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. APRIL 14 (27). *Newspaper Report* 400

2. SPEECH IN MOVING A RESOLUTION ON THE WAR. *April 22* (*May 5*) 402

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF SOLDIERS OF AN ARMOURED BATTALION IN MIKHAILOVSKY MANÈGE. APRIL 15 (28), 1917. *Newspaper Report* 402

MEETING OF THE SOLDIERS' SECTION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES. April 17 (*30*), *1917* 404

1. SPEECH ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE SOVIET OF SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES 404

2. REPLIES TO QUESTIONS 406

THE ATTENTION OF COMRADES! 407

POGROM AGITATION IN MINISTERIAL NEWSPAPER 407

THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). April 24-29 (*May 7-12*), *1917* 409

1. SPEECH ON THE PLAN TO CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. *April 25* (*May 8*) . 409

1. Variant of Minutes 409

2. Newspaper Report 411

2. PROPOSAL FOR LINES OF DEBATE ON V. P. NOGIN'S REPORT ON "ATTITUDE TO THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES". *April 25* (*May 8*) . . 412

3. SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES. *April 25* (*May 8*) . 413

1. Minutes 413

2. Newspaper Report 416

4. SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE WAR. APRIL 27 (MAY 10). *Newspaper Report* . . . 417

5. REMARKS IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE WAR. *April 27* (*May 10*) 417

1 417

2 417

3 418

6. PRELIMINARY DRAFT ALTERATIONS IN THE R.S.D.L.P. PARTY PROGRAMME 418

FOR THE PROGRAMME. *Better Variant* 423

7. REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF REVISING THE PARTY PROGRAMME. APRIL 28 (MAY 11). *Newspaper Report* . 424
8. REPORT ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. APRIL 28 (MAY 11). *Newspaper Report* 424
9. REMARK IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. APRIL 28 (MAY 11) . . 426
10. SPEECH ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. APRIL 29 (MAY 12). *Newspaper Report* 426
11. SPEECH ON THE SITUATION WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE TASKS OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). APRIL 29 (MAY 12). *Newspaper Report* 427
12. REMARKS IN THE DEBATE ON THE RESOLUTION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION. *April 29* (*May 12*) . . . 428
1 428
2 428
OUTLINE OF UNIDENTIFIED SPEECH AT A MEETING . . . 429
TOO GROSS A LIE 429
AN UNFINISHED AUTOBIOGRAPHY 430
REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE SEVENTH (APRIL) ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) AT A MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATION. *May 8* (*21*), *1917* 431
PLAN OF RESOLUTION ON ECONOMIC MEASURES FOR COMBATING THE DISLOCATION 434
INSERTION FOR N. K. KRUPSKAYA'S ARTICLE "A PAGE FROM THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY" 435
STATEMENT OF FACT CONCERNING THE COMMISSION OF THE NEWSPAPER *VPERYOD* AT A MEETING OF THE ST. PETERSBURG R.S.D.L.P.(B.) COMMITTEE. *May 30* (*June 12*), *1917* 435
SPEECH AT A SITTING OF THE BOLSHEVIK GROUP OF THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES. MAY 31 (JUNE 13), 1917. *Brief Newspaper Report* 436
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF DISTRICT COMMITTEES AND ARMY UNITS OF PETROGRAD TOGETHER WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE C.C. AND THE P.C. *June 10* (*23*), *1917* 437
ON THE GRIMM AFFAIR 438
SHAME! 439

REPORT ON THE CURRENT SITUATION AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF FRONT AND REAR MILITARY ORGANISATIONS OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). JUNE 20 (JULY 3), 1917. *Brief Newspaper Report* 439

THE POLITICAL SITUATION (*Four Theses*) 440

LETTER OVER THE PUBLICATION OF "LEAFLET ON THE CAPTURE OF RIGA" 443

FROM THE THESES FOR A REPORT AT THE OCTOBER 8 CONFERENCE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG ORGANISATION, AND ALSO FOR A RESOLUTION AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THOSE ELECTED TO THE PARTY CONGRESS 446

On the List of Candidates for the Constituent Assembly 446

Note to Theses "On the List of Candidates for the Constituent Assembly" 447

"THE LANDOWNERS HAVE HIT IT OFF WITH THE CADETS" 448

LETTER TO Y. M. SVERDLOV 450

Notes 453

Name Index 601

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

42

October 1917–March 1923

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 27

October 1917-July 1918

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *November 3* (*16*), *1917* 35

ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE REQUISITION OF ARTICLES OF WARM CLOTHING FOR THE SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT 35

INTERVIEW GIVEN TO GREGORI YARROS, CORRESPONDENT OF THE *ASSOCIATED PRESS AGENCY*. *November 15* (*28*), *1917* 36

THE SALARIES OF HIGH-RANKING OFFICE EMPLOYEES AND OFFICIALS. *Draft Decree for the C.P.C.* 37

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF THE WAR MINISTRY 38

THESES FOR A LAW ON THE CONFISCATION OF APARTMENT AND TENEMENT HOUSES 39

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF FOLLOWING A SOCIALIST POLICY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD 40

OUTLINE OF A PROGRAMME OF ECONOMIC MEASURES 40

DEMONSTRATION SLOGANS 41

LIABILITY FOR UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS. *Draft Resolution for the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.*(*B.*) 41

THE CONVERSION OF MUNITION WORKS TO ECONOMICALLY USEFUL WORK. *Decree of the Council of People's Commissars* 42

THESES ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY + THE PRESENT SITUATION 43

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY A WORKERS' DELEGATION OF ALEXANDRO-GRUSHEVSKY DISTRICT 44

DRAFT DECISION FOR C.P.C. ON STAFF SALARIES IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES 45

THE ORGANISATION OF A COMMISSION OF PRACTITIONERS. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 45

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PROCEDURE FOR TABLING QUESTIONS IN THE C.P.C. 46

DRAFT DECISION FOR C.P.C. ON THE IRREGULAR ACTIONS OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR JUSTICE I. Z. STEINBERG AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE V. A. KARELIN 46

PLEKHANOV ON TERROR 47

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P.(B.) CONCERNING THE EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY OF S. A. LOZOVSKY 49

DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE FIGHT AGAINST KALEDIN 51
1. Decision of the C.P.C. 51
2. Addendum to the Decision of the C.P.C. 51
RATES OF PAY FOR HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 52
MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE FOOD SITUATION. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 52
INQUIRY OF THE C.P.C. TO THE C.C. OF THE LEFT S.R. PARTY 53
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C ON THE ORDER OF SUBORDINATION OF THE BALTIC AND BLACK SEA FLEETS 54
ON SALARIES. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 54
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ORGANISATION OF FOOD SUPPLY 55
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY UNDER THE PETROGRAD SOVIET 55
THE CONVERSION OF MUNITION WORKS TO ECONOMICALLY USEFUL WORK. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 56
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT OF THE "FUNDAMENTAL LAW ON THE SOCIALISATION OF THE LAND". 56
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE INSTITUTION OF AN ALL-RUSSIA INTER-DEPARTMENTAL EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION FOR GUARDING THE RAILWAYS 57
PROPOSALS ON MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE FOOD SITUATION IN PETROGRAD 57
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF SABOTEURS 58
SPEECH AT A JOINT MEETING OF THE BOLSHEVIK AND LEFT S.R. GROUPS IN THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. FEBRUARY 19, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 58
SPEECH TO THE LETTISH RIFLEMEN. FEBRUARY 20, 1918. *Brief Newspaper Report* 59
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE AND TO ALL DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY 59
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE GERMAN PEACE TERMS 60
TREATY WITH THE FINNISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' REPUBLIC 61
1. Draft Decision of the C.P.C. 61
2. Directive of the C.P.C. to the Russo-Finnish Conciliation Board 61
3. Draft Decision for the C.P.C. 61
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY UNDER THE PETROGRAD SOVIET 62

SPEECHES AT THE MEETING OF THE C.P.C. *March 4, 1918* 63
1 63
2 64
3 65
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE SETTING UP OF A WATER TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT BOARD 66
INTERVIEW WITH ARTHUR RANSOME, CORRESPONDENT OF THE *DAILY NEWS*. 67
RE DRAFT DECREE CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL OVER ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE 68
ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE ARTICLE "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT" 68
Chapter IV 68
Chapter V 71
Chapter VI 72
Chapter VII 72
Chapter VIII 76
Chapter IX 81
Chapter X 83
THE STATE OF INLAND WATER TRANSPORT. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 85
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CONTROL OF S.E.C. EXPENDITURE 85
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE S.E.C. *April 1, 1918* 86
ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE PROCEDURE FOR SENDING COMMISSARS OUT TO THE PROVINCES. 87
SPEECH AT A JOINT MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE METAL WORKERS' UNION AND THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. APRIL 11, 1918. *From a Newspaper Report* 88
TO THE PRESIDING COMMITTEE OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE DON REPUBLIC 88
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE REGISTRATION OF SHARES, BONDS AND OTHER INTEREST-BEARING SECURITIES 89
DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCING OF SUGAR-BEET SOWING CAMPAIGN 89
DRAFT DECREE ON THE INSTITUTION OF AN ALL-RUSSIA EVACUATION COMMISSION 90
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE FOR THE C.P.C. ON SUPPLYING AGRICULTURE WITH IMPLEMENTS AND METALS 91
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE FOR THE C.P.C. ON A DEPARTMENT FOR ORGANISING THE CULTIVATED AREA 91
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE 92
ADDENDUM TO THE DECREE ON THE FOOD DICTATORSHIP 92

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

MOBILISATION OF THE WORKERS TO COMBAT FAMINE. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON FUEL 93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON MOTOR TRANSPORT 93
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON PRIVATE PURVEYANCE OF FOOD 94
MEASURES TO COMBAT FAMINE 94
ROUGH DRAFT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE S.E.C. AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY ON THE CONDITIONS OF BARTER BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY 95
COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT "REGULATIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONALISED ENTERPRISES" 96
LIBRARY ORGANISATION. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 96
RE DRAFT DECREE ON THE ORGANISATION AND SUPPLY OF THE VILLAGE POOR 97
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WORKS 98
REHABILITATION OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 98
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON ADVANCING MONEY TO CENTROTEXTIL 99
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCING OF THE CHIEF COMMITTEE FOR THE TANNING INDUSTRY 99
THE DEMOCRATISM AND SOCIALIST NATURE OF SOVIET POWER 100
INTERVIEW GIVEN TO THE CORRESPONDENT OF *FOLKETS DAGBLAD POLITIKEN*. *July 1, 1918* 101
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON SUPPLYING THE PEASANTS WITH AGRICULTURAL MACHINES 103
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON NON-FULFILMENT OF THE "DECREE ON MONUMENTS OF THE REPUBLIC" 103
ROUGH DRAFT OF ARTICLE 20, SECTION 2 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE R.S.F.S.R. 104
SPEECH AT A MEETING IN PRESNYA DISTRICT. *July 26, 1918* 104

August 1918-October 1920

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON POTATO PRICES 106
CONFISCATION OF SEEDS FROM THE KULAKS BY THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES 107
RE THE DECREE ON THE IMPOSITION OF A TAX IN KIND ON FARMERS 107
1. Main Provisions of the Decree 107
2. Remarks on the Draft Decree 108
RE DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ALLOCATING FUNDS FOR THE UPKEEP OF THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES 109
RE DECISION OF THE C.P.C. ON LOGGING 109

ROUGH THESES OF A DECISION ON THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LAWS 110
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CHILDREN'S HOMES 111
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECREE ON THE ORGANISATION OF SUPPLY FOR THE POPULATION 111
THE TASKS AND ORGANISATION OF THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE 112
1 112
2 113
3 113
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE DEFENCE COUNCIL'S FUEL COMMISSION 114
PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE VECHEKA 115
ROUGH DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR INTENSIFYING AND INCREASING FOOD PURVEYANCE 115
RE DRAFT "REGULATIONS ON THE ORGANISATION OF A WORKERS' FOOD INSPECTION" 116
1. Draft Decision of the C.P.C. 116
2. Remarks on the Draft "Regulations" 116
NOTES AT A MEETING OF THE COMMISSION ON CARTRIDGES 117
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON AN ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF BANK EMPLOYEES 118
PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF FINANCING CENTROTEXTIL 118
TO G. V. CHICHERIN 119
INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPILING A READING BOOK FOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS 122
NOTES ON HELP TO KHARKOV 122
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE CO-OPERATIVES 123
THE STATE OF LIBRARY SERVICE. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 123
A CONCESSION ON THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 124
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF ALLOTTING FARMS TO INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES 125
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FOOD SURPLUS-APPROPRIATION SYSTEM IN THE UKRAINE 125
ON THE APPEAL OF THE GERMAN INDEPENDENTS 126
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON REGULATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VECHEKA, THE RAILWAY CHEKA AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS AND A LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE 127
SPEECH AT AGITATORS COURSES OF THE MOTHER AND CHILD PROTECTION DEPARTMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY. *March 8, 1919* 129
ROUGH DRAFT FOR A C.P.C. DECISION ON THE PRINTING INDUSTRY DEPARTMENT OF S.E.C. 129

NOTES ON CO-OPERATION 130
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SENDING GROUPS OF WORKERS OUT ON FOOD TRANSPORTATION JOBS 131
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON SUPPLYING BREADSTUFFS TO THE RAILWAYMEN 131
ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANTS 132
DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SITUATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC AT THE EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES. *April 3, 1919* 133
MOTION TO ENDORSE THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONTAINING DIRECTIVES FOR THE C.C. OF THE C.P.(B.) OF THE UKRAINE 135
RE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON STEPPING UP WORK IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY DEFENCE 135
POSTSCRIPT TO THE APPEAL TO HUNGARIAN INTERNATIONALISTS 135
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C.'S ECONOMIC COMMISSION ON ALLEVIATING THE POSITION OF THE WORKERS 136
SALARIES FOR SPECIALISTS. *Draft Decision* 136
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE MOBILISATION OF SOVIET EMPLOYEES 137
DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' DEFENCE ON CALLING UP FOR MILITARY SERVICE TRADE, INDUSTRIAL AND TRANSPORT WORKERS AND OTHER EMPLOYEES 138
ORDER TO THE C.P.C. SECRETARIAT 139
DIRECTIVES TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE RE MODIFICATION OF INSTRUCTIONS 140
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.C. POLITBUREAU ON MEASURES TO FIGHT MAMONTOV 141
1 141
2 142
3 142
INTRODUCTION OF ONE-MAN MANAGEMENT IN LIEU OF BOARD MANAGEMENT IN CENTROTEXTIL. *Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars* 143
NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON RELATIONS WITH THE ENTENTE COUNTRIES 144
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE S.E.C. AND THE COMMISSARIAT FOR STATE CONTROL 144
SUGGESTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF CO-OPERATION 145
INTERVIEW WITH MOHAMMAD WALI-KHAN, AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY OF AFGHANISTAN. OCTOBER 14, 1919. *Newspaper Report* 146

SPEECH TO IVANOVO-VOZNESENSK COMMUNIST WORKERS LEAVING FOR THE FRONT. OCTOBER 24, 1919. *Reporter's Notes* 147
SPEECH TO ADULT-EDUCATION COURSE STUDENTS LEAVING FOR THE FRONT. *October 28, 1919* 147
MOTION ON THE QUESTION OF A SINGLE FORESTRY BODY 148
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON POTATO PURCHASES 149
NOTES AT A MEETING OF DELEGATES TO THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST 150
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM 150
RE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 151
ON IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAY TRANSPORT. *Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars* 151
REMARKS ON DRAFT REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS 152
THE WORK OF THE FOOD SUPPLY AGENCIES. *Draft Resolutions* 152
ROUGH DRAFT FOR THE C.P.C. DECISION ON MOSCOW'S FOOD SUPPLY 154
DRAFT C.P.C. DECISION ON GRAIN CONSIGNMENTS TO MOSCOW BY THROUGH TRAINS 154
LETTER TO P. I. POPOV. (*Re Consumption by the Population of the R.S.F.S.R. Before and After the October Revolutton*) 155
1 155
2 155
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPLYING THE WORKERS WITH CLOTHES AND FOOTWEAR 157
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING PURVEYANCE OF RAW MATERIALS 157
RE TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT OF VECHEKA. *Draft Decision for the Council of Defence* 158
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 158
DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) IN CONNECTION WITH THE ENTENTE'S ATTEMPT TO START TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA THROUGH THE RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVES 159
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S PROTEST CONCERNING THE ORDER TO THE COMMANDER OF THE TURKESTAN FRONT 159
POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) DIRECTIVES ON A WORKERS' INSPECTION 160

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE PROPAGANDA-INSTRUCTOR TRAINS AND STEAMERS 160
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON UNLOADING POTATOES AND SNOW CLEARING OF MOSCOW'S STREETS AND RAILWAY TRACKS 162
NOTES CONCERNING THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON BONUSES FOR WORKERS AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES 163
SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF CHAIRMEN OF GUBERNIA AND UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. *February 1, 1920* 163
DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT 164
POSTSCRIPT TO DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT 165
PRIVILEGES FOR LOCOMOTIVE REPAIR WORKERS. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 166
SPEECH AT THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF GUBERNIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSIONS. *February 6, 1920* 166
DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE UKRAINIAN BOROTBIST PARTY 174
INTERVIEW WITH LINCOLN EYRE, CORRESPONDENT OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER *THE WORLD* 175
Allies Playing "Chess Game" 175
United States Oppresses Socialists 176
Europe Dependent on Russia 177
World Needs Russian Goods 178
Internal Situation Hopeful 179
Scores Socialist Leaders 180
REMARKS ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE BOROTBISTS 180
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON STOCKS OF COMMODITIES 181
REMARKS ON TROTSKY'S DRAFT THESES "THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT" 181
THE PROSECUTION OF MINORS. *Notes and Amendments to the Draft Decree* 182
MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE ORGANISATION OF STATE FARMS. *Draft Decision for the C.P.C.* 183
RESOLUTIONS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONCERNING BREACH OF PARTY DISCIPLINE BY MEMBERS OF THE A.C.C.T.U. PARTY GROUP 184
PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET *THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND KAUTSKY THE RENEGADE* 185
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON SUBBOTNIKS 187
I. Aims and Purpose of Subbotniks 187
TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 187

NOTES CONCERNING THE DECREE ON WORK RATIONS 188
1 188
2 188
SPEECH AT THE STONE-LAYING CEREMONY FOR A MONUMENT TO KARL MARX. MAY 1, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 189
SPEECH AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE ZAGORSKY WORKERS' PALACE, MAY 1, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 190
SPEECH AT THE ELEVENTH ISSUE OF RED COMMANDERS OF THE FIRST MOSCOW MACHINE-GUNNERS TRAINING COURSES. MAY 12, 1920. *Chronicler's Record* 190
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE PURVEYANCE OF RAW MATERIALS 191
REMARKS ON THE DRAFT DECREE ON MEASURES FOR PROPER DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING AMONG THE WORKING POPULATION 192
ROUGH DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON GRAIN RESOURCES 192
INTERVIEW WITH M. NAKAHIRA, CORRESPONDENT OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPER *OSAKA ASAHI* 193
INTERVIEW WITH K. FUSSE, CORRESPONDENT OF THE JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS *OSAKA MAINICHI* AND TOKYO *NICHI-NICHI* 194
DECISION IMPOSING A PENALTY ON E. Y. VEVER, MANAGER OF "GORKI" SANATORIUM 196
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. JUNE 19, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 197
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN TURKESTAN 198
MATERIAL FOR THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 199
1. PLAN OF A RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIATE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE "FASHIONABLE" DISTORTION OF THIS SLOGAN 199
2. RE JACK TANNER'S SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN 202
3. REMARKS ON THE REPORT OF A. SULTAN-ZADE CONCERNING THE PROSPECTS OF A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST 202
4. NOTES FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS 203
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PETROGRAD COMMUNE AND THE PETROGRAD SOVIET 203
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY A. M. KRASNOSHCHOKOV, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE FAR-EASTERN REPUBLIC 204
SPEECH AT A STONE-LAYING CEREMONY FOR A MONUMENT TO KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG HELD IN PETROGRAD. JULY 19, 1920. *Newspaper Report* 204

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON MAXIM GORKY'S ARTICLES IN THE JOURNAL *THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL* 205

PROPOSALS ON MILITARY QUESTIONS 205

DECISIONS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ORDER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE WESTERN FRONT 206

THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). September 22-25, 1920 207

1. SPEECH ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT. *September 24* 207
2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT 212
3. PROPOSALS FOR THE RESOLUTION ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT 214

REPORT ON THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POSITION OF THE REPUBLIC AT A MEETING OF ACTIVISTS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *October 9, 1920* 214

ROUGH DRAFT OF A RESOLUTION ON PROLETARIAN CULTURE 217

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) IN LOCALITIES INHABITED BY EASTERN PEOPLES 218

NOTES ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY 219

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON THE QUESTION OF RESTORATION OF THE BALTIC FLEET 220

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE WORK AND FOOD RATIONS FOR SOVIET EMPLOYEES 220

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 221

November 1920–March 1923

ESTABLISHING CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC COMMISSARIATS 222

1. Draft Decision for the Council of People's Commissars 222
2. Rough Draft Proposals 222

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C. R.C.P.(B.) ON THE CHIEF COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION 223

A LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 224

SPEECH AT AN ANNIVERSARY PLENARY MEETING OF THE SOKOLNIKI DISTRICT SOVIET HELD JOINTLY WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FACTORY COMMITTEES AND INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENTS OF MOSCOW. *November 7, 1920* 225

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PROLETCULT 226
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 227
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CONCESSIONS 227
DRAFT DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 228
RE THESES OF A REPORT AT THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON IMPROVING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN COMBATING BUREAUCRATISM 229
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU (*On Chicherin's Motion That Krasin Be Temporarily Recalled and Krasin's Invited Opinion*) 229
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON DIRECT TAXES 230
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.P.C. 230
RE THE DRAFTING OF A DECREE ON MEASURES FOR CONSOLIDATING AND DEVELOPING PEASANT FARMING. *Notes to the Commission Members* 231
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH BRITAIN 232
REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON CONCESSIONS AT A MEETING OF ACTIVISTS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *December 6, 1920* 232
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REORGANISATION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION 237
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PRODUCTION PROPAGANDA 238
ADDENDA TO DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM CONCERNING THE ORGANISATION OF A SPECIAL PRODUCTION ORGAN 238
THE EIGHTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. December 22-29, 1920 239

1. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON CONCESSIONS DELIVERED TO THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 21* 239
2. SPEECH TO THE R.C.P.(B.) GROUP AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS DURING THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS CONCERNING HOME AND FOREIGN POLICIES, *December 22* 248
3. SPEECH ON ADDENDA TO THE BILL OF THE C.P.C. "ON MEASURES TO CONSOLIDATE AND DEVELOP PEASANT FARMING" DELIVERED TO THE R.C.P. GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 27* 257
4. REPLY TO QUESTIONS AT THE MEETING OF THE R.C.P. GROUP OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, *December 27* 262

5. ADDENDA TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. 267
TO N. N. KRESTINSKY FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 267
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE 268
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON GEORGIA 268
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE LETTER OF TSEKTRAN OFFICIALS 269
ROUGH DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.P.C. ON OIL CONCESSIONS 269
DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.P.C. ON CHECKING FULFILMENT BY THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS OF THE DECISIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS OF THE C.L.D. AND THE C.P.C. 270
AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON COPING WITH THE FUEL CRISIS 270
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE IMPORT PLAN 271
DRAFT OF THE MAIN POINT OF THE C.L.D. DECISION ON THE GENERAL PLANNING COMMISSION 271
SPEECH AT A MEETING OF MOSCOW PARTY ACTIVISTS. *February 24, 1921* 272
NOTES ON THE QUESTION OF MOBILISING RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES 275
DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON IMPROVING THE SUPPLY OF THE WORKERS 277
PLAN OF A LETTER TO THE BAKU COMRADES 277
NOTES ON ELECTRIFICATION 280
1 280
2 280
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON AN OBLIGATORY SCIENCE MINIMUM IN THE HIGHER SCHOOLS 281
THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.). March 8-16, 1921 281
1. OUTLINE OF A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF SUPPORTERS OF THE "PLATFORM OF TEN". 281
2. REMARK ON THE AMENDMENT OF RAFAIL (R. B. FARBMAN) TO THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, *March 16* 282
3. REMARK ON KISELYOV'S SPEECH CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY, *March 16*. . . 283
4. REMARK ON MARCHENKO'S AMENDMENT TO THE RESOLUTION ON THE ANARCHIST AND SYNDICALIST DEVIATION, *March 16* 283
MOTION AT THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) CONCERNING THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE ABOLITION OF MONETARY TAXES 284

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PURVEYANCE IN TAMBOV GUBERNIA 284

MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, April 11, 1921 285

1. REJOINDER DURING THE DEBATE 285
2. REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE REPORT ON CONCESSIONS 285

APPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN TRADE ORDERS. *Draft Resolution for the C.P.C.* 297

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON "ALGEMBA" 297

ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINES" 298

DRAFT OF A LETTER OF THE C. C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ATTITUDE TO NON-PARTY WORKERS 298

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF COMMUNISTS AND CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) OF THE KREMLIN AREA. MAY 2, 1921. (*From the Minutes*) 299

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 300

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON MEASURES FOR ACHIEVING CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION 301

PLAN OF A SPEECH AT A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST GROUP OF THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS 302

PROPOSALS TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM ON CLAUSE 13 OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME 302

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.L.D. ON LOCAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCES, ON REPORTING AND ON COMPLYING WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE C.L.D. 303

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 305

REMARKS CONCERNING THE WORK PLAN OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 306

PLAN OF A SPEECH AT THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS. . . . 307

TO THE MINER COMRADES OF THE PETROVSKOYE INDUSTRIAL GROUP 308

TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). May 26-28, 1921 309

1. STATEMENT CONCERNING THE AGENDA, *May 26* 309
2. SPEECHES DURING THE DEBATE OF THE MOTION ON QUESTIONS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, *May 28* 309

1 309
2 310
3 311
4 311
5 312
6 312
7 312

TO ALL PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND TO THE CHIEF OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD 313
BRIEF MONTHLY EXTRACTS FROM REPORTS 314
PROPOSALS ON A CHECK-UP AND PURGE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) 315
THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. June 22-July 12, 1921 316
1. LETTER TO O. W. KUUSINEN AND REMARKS ON THE DRAFT "THESES ON THE ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, ON THE METHODS AND CONTENT OF THEIR WORK 316
2. LETTER TO O. W. KUUSINEN AND W. KOENEN . . . 318
3. REMARKS ON THE DRAFT THESES ON TACTICS FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. *Letter to G. Y. Zinoviev.* 319
4. MOTION ON THE DRAFT THESES ON TACTICS 324
5. SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN, POLISH, CZECHOSLOVAK, HUNGARIAN AND ITALIAN DELEGATIONS, *July 11* 324
1 324
2 327
3 328
ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON COLLECTIVE PAY FOR EMPLOYEES OF STATE INSTITUTIONS 329
Point "A" 329
Point "D" 329
MOTION TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON BONUSES FOR ENTERPRISES. 329
NOTES ON MEASURES FOR COMBATING FAMINE AND STEPPING UP ECONOMIC WORK 330
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE ORGANISATION OF COMMODITY EXCHANGE BY CENTROSOYUZ 332
MOTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 332
PROPOSALS TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE STATE OF TRANSPORT 333
LETTER TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV AND INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SECRETARY 333
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE INSPECTION OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE 336
MOTION TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON BRINGING UNGERN TO TRIAL 336
A NOTE TO E. VARGA AND THESES ON THE ORGANISATION OF AN INFORMATION INSTITUTE ON QUESTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT 337
TO E. VARGA 339
DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON KEEPING A RECORD OF WORKERS' DONATIONS IN EUROPE. *September 2, 1921* 340

A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON NOULENS' NOTE 340
ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON DIRECTIVES TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD 341
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SPENDING FROM THE GOLD FUND 342
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE FREE SALE OF BOOKS FROM MOSCOW WAREHOUSE STOCKS 342
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 343
A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 343
A LETTER TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV AND A DRAFT ENGAGEMENT FOR WORKERS GOING TO RUSSIA FROM AMERICA 344
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF THE FAR-EASTERN REPUBLIC 345
RE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) PLENUM. . . 346
DRAFT DIRECTIVES FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE ALLOTMENT OF LANDS FOR SUGAR-BEET CULTIVATION IN THE UKRAINE 346
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON SOCIAL INSURANCE. 347
NOTES ON YUGOSTAL 347
A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RUTGERS GROUP . . . 348
A LETTER TO POLITBUREAU MEMBERS WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) AND THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE ON THE QUESTION OF RUTGERS' PROPOSALS 350
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ASSIGNING A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV TO FOOD SUPPLY WORK 350
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 351
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SETTING UP OF A SINGLE COMMISSION ON CONCESSIONS 351
A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RUTGERS GROUP 352
PROPOSALS TO THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH THE A.R.A. ON THE ORGANISATION OF FOOD PARCELS TO RUSSIA. 353
A LETTER TO THE POLISH COMMUNISTS 354
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). 355
DRAFT DECISION FOR C.L.D. ON FOWLER PLOUGHS. 356

DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON THE QUESTION OF REPORTS AND DIAGRAMS FOR THE C.L.D. *October 21, 1921* 356

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY 357

PLAN OF AN ARTICLE "COMMERCIAL ORGANISATION" 357

DRAFT DECISIONS FOR THE C.P.C. ON THE FINANCIAL PLAN AND PLAN OF EMISSION FOR 1922 359

1 359
2 359

TALK WITH A DELEGATION OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. *November 5, 1921* 360

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 361

A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 362

A NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON FOOD SUPPLY WORK IN THE UKRAINE 362

RE DRAFT DECREE "ON PENALTIES FOR FALSE DENUNCIATIONS" 363

REMARKS ON THE DRAFT DECREE "ON THE INTRODUCTION OF PAYMENT FOR NEWSPAPERS" 363

A NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 364

A LETTER TO A. D. TSYURUPA WITH A DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND A NOTE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 365

ROUGH DRAFT OF A DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE VECHEKA. 366

DRAFT DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C. R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT 367

DRAFT DECISION OF THE C.L.D. ON THE COMMISSION FOR THE UTILISATION OF MATERIAL RESOURCES 367

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 368

REMARKS TO THE THESES ON A UNITED FRONT 368

LETTER TO THE PROPAGANDA AND ACTION COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST 369

COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE ELEVENTH CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PARTY PURGE 369

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF NON-PARTY DELEGATES TO THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. *December 26, 1921* 370

1 370
2 371
3 373

DRAFT THESE ON THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY 374
1. The New Economic Policy and the Trade Unions 375
2. State Capitalism in the Proletarian State and the Trade Unions 375
3. The State Enterprises That Are Being Put on a Profit Basis and the Trade Unions 376
4. The Essential Difference Between the Class Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Recognises Private Ownership of the Land, Factories, Etc., and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Capitalist Class, and the Class Struggle of the Proletariat in a State Which Does Not Recognise Private Ownership of the Land and the Majority of the Large Enterprises and Where Political Power Is in the Hands of the Proletariat 376
5. Reversion to Voluntary Trade Union Membership 378
6. The Trade Unions and the Management of Industry 378
7. The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions in the Business and Administrative Organisations of the Proletarian State 379
8. Contact with the Masses—the Fundamental Condition for All Trade Union Activity 381
9. The Contradictions in the Status of the Trade Unions Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat 382
10. The Trade Unions and the Specialists 383
11. The Trade Unions and Petty-Bourgeois Influences on the Working Class 385
MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT DECISIONS 386
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ALLOCATION OF FUNDS TO THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD RADIO LABORATORY 387
DIRECTIVES ON THE FILM BUSINESS 388
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON M. I. KALININ'S TRIP TO THE UKRAINE 389
MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 390
DRAFT DIRECTIVES TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE GENOA DELEGATION 390
LETTER TO N. I. BUKHARIN AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV 393
DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) IN CONNECTION WITH THE GENOA CONFERENCE 394
ON THE PUBLICATION OF A TELEGRAM REPORTING THE PAMPHLET BY PARVUS 395
1 395
2. Decision of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *March 11, 1922* 396

DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO THE GENOA CONFERENCE 396

MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV WITH A MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 398

MARKS ON N. L. MESHCHERYAKOV'S LETTER AND A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 399

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH REMARKS TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE FIRST EXTENDED PLENARY MEETING OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE ON PARTICIPATION IN A CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS 400

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE TASKS OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT GENOA 401

MEMO TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT DECISION ON THE NOTE TO ITALY 404

AMENDMENTS AND REMARKS TO THE DRAFT REGULATIONS ON THE NARROW C.P.C. 405

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SWEDISH LOAN 405

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH PROPOSALS ON THE DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE FOR THE COMINTERN DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS 406

LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT OF DIRECTIVES TO COMRADES TRAVELLING 407

LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) 408

NOTE TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF THE CO-OPERATIVES 409

AMENDMENTS AND REMARKS TO THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE 410

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.). March 27-April 2, 1922 411

1. PROPOSAL TO THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT OF THE R.C.P.(B.) DELEGATION IN THE COMINTERN 411
2. SPEECH ON THE QUESTION OF PRINTING ADVERTISEMENTS IN *PRAVDA*, *April 2* 411
3. NOTES AT THE CONGRESS MEETING, *April 2* 412

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE PLENUM OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON ORGANISING THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT 413

NOTES TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT DECISIONS 413

1 413

2 414

REMARKS AND PROPOSALS TO THE DRAFT DECISION FOR THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS, *Letters to G. Y. Zinoviev* 415

1. 415
2. 416

INTERVIEW WITH THE CORRESPONDENT OF *THE NEW YORK HERALD* 417

DECISION OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 27, 1922* 417

DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON PRESENTATION TO THE C.C. OF SUMMARISED INFORMATION CONCERNING THE TAX IN KIND. . . 418

NOTE TO J. V. STALIN WITH A DRAFT DECISION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF THE FOREIGN TRADE MONOPOLY 418

ADDENDUM TO THE DRAFT PREAMBLE TO THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE R.S.F.S.R. AND A LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY 419

LETTER TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF REDUCING THE RED ARMY 420

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH A DRAFT DECISION ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. 420

TO THE FIRST CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN OF TRANSCAUCASIA 421

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. *Letter to L. B. Kamenev for Members of the Politbureau* 421

TO THE CONGRESS OF TEXTILE WORKERS 423

ADDENDA TO THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH L. URQUHART 424

THESES ON THE CO-OPERATIVE BANK 424

TO THE TEXTILE WORKERS OF PETROGRAD 425

MOTION FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY 425

TO THE RUSSIAN COLONY IN NORTH AMERICA 425

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN ON THE QUESTION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL 427

PROPOSALS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND THE C.L.D. 428

RE DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REPORT OF THE STATE SUPPLIES COMMISSION. 429

PROPOSAL FOR THE PLENUM REGARDING THE POLITBUREAU STANDING ORDER 429

PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE WORK ROUTINE OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE C.P.C. . . 430

LETTER TO L. B. KAMENEV, A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WORK BETWEEN THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND THE C.L.D. . . 432

MATERIALS TO THE ARTICLE "HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS INSPECTION" 433

1. PLAN OF AN ARTICLE "WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.?" 433

2. WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? 435

WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? (*Continuation*) . . . 437

WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH THE W.P.I.? (*Continuation*) . . . 439

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) 443

REREGISTRATION FORM FOR MEMBERS OF THE MOSCOW ORGANISATION OF THE R.C.P.(B.) 445

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) 449

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE TENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. 450

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE ELEVENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONFERENCE OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) 455

ALL-RUSSIA CENSUS FORM FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) 457

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DELEGATES OF THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. (BOLSHEVIKS) 462

JOURNAL OF LENIN'S DUTY SECRETARIES. *November 21, 1922-March 6, 1923* 463

Notes 495

Name Index 623

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

43

December 1893–October 1917

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 29

1893

1. TO P. P. MASLOV. *Second half of December* 37

1894

2. TO P. P. MASLOV. *May 30* 39
3. TO P. P. MASLOV. *May 31* 42
4. TO L. F. MILOVIDOVA. *July 21* 42

1900

5. TO Y. M. STEKLOV. *September 25* 44
6. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *September 25* 45
7. TO V. P. NOGIN. *October 10* 45
8. TO Y. M. STEKLOV. *October 10* 46
9. TO APOLLINARIA YAKUBOVA. *October 26* 47
10. TO P. B. AXELROD. *December 7* 48

1901

11. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *February 5* 50
12. TO V. P. NOGIN. *February 5* 51
13. TO V. P. NOGIN. *February 21* 53
14. TO P. B. AXELROD. *March 11* 54
15. TO V. P. NOGIN. *March 23* 55
16. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 15* 55
17. TO M. G. VECHESLOV. *April 22* 56
18. TO THE *BORBA* GROUP. *May 12* 57
19. TO M. G. VECHESLOV. *May 18* 57

20. TO THE PRINTING SHOP OF *ISKRA Between May 22 and June 1* 58
21. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *May 24* 59
22. TO R. E. KLASSON. *May 28* 60
23. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *June 12* 61
24. TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE. *July 18* 62
25. TO P. B. AXELROD. *July 30* 62
26. TO L. Y. GALPERIN. *Between July 31 and August 12* . . 63
27. TO L. I. GOLDMAN. *Between July 31 and August 12* . . . 65
28. TO P. B. AXELROD. *August 4* 66
29. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *September 18* 68
30. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *October 5 or 6* 69
31. TO THE *ISKRA* GROUP IN ST. PETERSBURG. *October, after 15* 69
32. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *October 22* 70
33. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *November 10* 71
34. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *December 14* 72
35. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 19* 74
36. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *December 17* 75
37. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 20* 76
38. TO P. B. AXELROD. *December 23* 77

1902

39. TO V. N. KROKHMAL. *January 3* 78
40. TO P. B. AXELROD. *March 3* 78
41. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *Prior to March 23* 79
42. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 17* 80
43. TO P. B. AXELROD. *April 18* 81
44. TO P. B. AXELROD. *April 23* 81
45. TO A. I. KREMER. *May 4* 83
46. TO THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD. *May 4* 83
47. TO P. N. LEPESHINSKY AND I. I. RADCHENKO. *May 5* 84
48. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *June 23* 84

49. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *July 12* 85
50. TO V. G. SHKLYAREVICH. *July 29* 86
51. TO KARTAVTSEV. *August 4* 87
52. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *August 7* 88
53. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *August 8* 89
54. TO I. R RADCHENKO. *August 12* 90
55. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *October, prior to 5th* 91
56. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *November 11* 93
57. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *November 28* 94
58. TO FIT. *December 16* 94
59. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *December 18* 95
60. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *December 19* 96
61. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *November 25* 98
62. TO A. N. POTRESOV. *November 26* 100
63. TO THE BUREAU OF THE *ISKRA* ORGANISATION IN RUSSIA. *December 28* 100

1903

64. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *January 1* 102
65. TO A. N. POTRESOV. *January 1* 103
66. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *January 10* 103
67. TO THE EDITORS OF *YUZHNY RABOCHY*. *January 10* . . . 105
68. TO LYUBOV AXELROD. *January 15* 105
69. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *January 28* 106
70. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *February 5* 108
71. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *February 8* 109
72. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *March 2* 110
73. TO G. V. PLEKHANOV. *April 10* 112
74. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *May 24* 113
75. TO KARL KAUTSKY. *June 29* 114
76. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *July 16* 114
77. TO Y. O. MARTOV. *November 29* 115
78. TO VERA ZASULICH. *December 3* 116
79. TO Y. O. MARTOV. *December 19* 117

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

1904

80. TO THE EDITORS OF *ISKRA*. *March 18* 118
81. TO THE EDITORS OF *ISKRA*. *June 20* 118
82. TO M. N. LYADOV. *September 1* 119
83. TO THE COMPOSITORS OF THE PARTY PRINTING SHOP. *September 2 or 3* 119
84. TO I. S. VILENSKY. *Between September 5 and 13* 120
85. TO M. S. MAKADZYUB. *September 4* 121
86. TO M. LEIBOVICH. *September 11* 123
87. TO V. P. NOGIN. *September 21* 126
88. TO YELENA STASOVA, F. V. LENGNIK, AND OTHERS. *September 23* 126
89. TO KARL KAUTSKY. *October 10* 127
90. TO YELENA STASOVA, F. V. LENGNIK, AND OTHERS. *October 14* 128
91. TO KARL KAUTSKY. *October 26* 130
92. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *October 28* 130
93. TO A. A. BOGDANOV. *November 2* 132
94. TO I. P. GOLDENBERG. *November 2* 134
95. TO I. A. PYATNITSKY. *November, prior to 16th* 135
96. THE TVER COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 26* 137
97. TO THE IMERETIA-MINGRELIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 28* 139
98. TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 29* 141
99. TO THE BAKU COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 29* 141
100. TO THE CAUCASIAN UNION COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 5* 142
101. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *December 12* 144
102. TO ROZALIA ZEMLYACHKA. *December 13* 146
103. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 14* 146
104. TO THE TVER COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December 20* 147
105. TO MARIA GOLUBEVA. *Between December 23, 1904, and January 4, 1905* 148

106. TO THE CAUCASIAN BUREAU OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *December, not earlier than 25th* 149

107. TO A. Y. ISAYENKO. *December 26* 151

1905

108. TO V. A. NOSKOV, L. B. KRASIN AND L. Y. GALPERIN, MEMBERS OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P. *January 13* 152

109. TO A CORRESPONDENT OF *VPERYOD*. *January* 152

110. TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE. *February 27* 153

111. TO THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *March 13* 154

112. TO I. I. SCHWARZ. *Not earlier than March 31* 155

113. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *April 3* 156

114. TO A. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *April, prior to 21st* 156

115. TO DRAFT OF A LETTER TO THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY ABROAD. *Between May 23 and 26* 157

116. TO Y. M. STEKLOV. *After May 23* 158

117. TO ALEXANDRE-MARIE BRACKE-DESROUSSEAUX. *Not earlier than June 11* 159

118. TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. *July 3* 159

119. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *July 8* 160

120. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *July 31* 161

121. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *August 1* 161

122. TO THE CENTRAL AND ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEES OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *August 14* 162

123. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *Sepeptember 30* 163

124. TO THE KHERSON BOLSHEVIKS. *October 10* 165

125. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 16* 165

126. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *October 17* 167

127. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *October 18* 168

128. TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P. *October 20* 169
129. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *October 23* 171
130. TO G. D. LEITEISEN. *Early November* 171
131. TO N. F. NASIMOVICH. *November, prior to 9th* 172

1906

132. TO G. A. KUKLIN. *September 14* 173

1907

133. TO ETIENNE AVENARD. *March 1 (14)* 174
134. TO G. A. ALEXINSKY. *Late September-early October* . . . 175
135. TO KARL HJALMAR BRANTING. *Early October* 177
136. TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE. *December 28* 178

1908

137. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *January 13* 179
138. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *January 14* 180
139. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *Between January 14 and February 13* 181
140. TO MAGNUS NILSSEN. *January 27*. 182
141. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *January 27* 182
142. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *January 29* 183
143. TO THE EDITORS OF *BERNER TAGWACHT*. *Between January 30 and February 2* 184
144. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *February 27* 185
145. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March 1* 186
146. TO LEON TYSZKA. *March 18* 187
147. TO A. A. BOGDANOV. *Late March* 189
148. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *May 16* 189
149. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *June 30*. 190
150. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *July 8* 191
151. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *August 18* 191
152. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *August 19* 192
153. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 8* 193

154. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 21* 194
155. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *October 2* 195
156. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *November 7* 196
157. TO V. K. TARATUTA. *December 1* 197
158. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *December 3* 198

1909

159. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *January 19* 199
160. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *February 25* 199
161. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March 9* 200
162. TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *April, prior to 11th* 201
163. TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY. *April 23* 203
164. TO LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PROLETARY*. *April, not later than 26* 204
165. TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY. *April 29* 206
166. TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY. *May 4* 206
167. TO I. F. DUBROVINSKY. *May 5* 208
168. TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. *May 26* 209
169. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *July 20* 211
170. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *July 29* 211
171. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *July 30* 212
172. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *August 26* 213
173. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *August 27* 215
174. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 27* 216
175. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 11* 218
176. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV. *First half of September* 219
177. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *September 17* 219
178. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 17* 220
179. TO M. P. TOMSKY. *September, prior to 20th* 221
180. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 30* 223
181. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV. *October, not earlier than 2nd* . . . 224

182. TO DRAFT REPLY TO A LETTER FROM THE COUNCIL OF THE CAPRI SCHOOL. *October, not earlier than 2nd* 225

183. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *First half of October* 225

184. TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE BOLSHEVIK CENTRE. *Not earlier than October* 226

185. TO THE SECRETARY OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE CENTRAL ORGAN. *November 9* 228

186. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. *November 14* 229

187. TO REQUEST TO STATISTICIANS OF ZEMSTVO, CITY AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS. *December 9* 230

1910

188. TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE. *January 22* 231

189. MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO AUGUST BEBEL. *February 22* 232

190. TO A. EKK. *February 23* 234

191. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 21* 235

192. TO THE BUREAU ABROAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, R.S.D.L.P. *April 16* 235

193. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April 6* 243

194. TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY. *April 10* 244

195. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV. *April 10* 245

196. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV. *April 10* 246

197. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *June 6* 247

198. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *June 15* 247

199. TO D. M. KOTLYARENKO. *August 1* 248

200. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV. *August 2* 249

201. TO M. V. KOBETSKY. *August 8* 250

202. TO M. V. KOBETSKY. *Between August 12 and 23* 251

203. TO MARIA ANDREYEVA. *August 14* 252

204. TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY. *September 2* 253

205. TO M. V. KOBETSKY. *September 16* 254

206. TO I. P. POKROVSKY. *October 5* 255

207. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *October 17* 256

208. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *November 6* 256

209. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING OF THE C.O. EDITORIAL BOARD. *November 7* 257

210. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *November 8* 258

211. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *November 10* 259

212. TO N. G. POLETAYEV. *December 4* 260

213. TO THE BUREAU ABROAD OF THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *December 5* 260

214. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *December 9* 261

215. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT*. *December 17* 262

1911

216. TO KARL KAUTSKY. *January 31* 263

217. TO A. I. RYKOV. *After February 11* 266

218. TO A. I. RYKOV. *February 17* 268

219. TO N. G. POLETAYEV. *March 7 or 8* 269

220. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March 10* 272

221. TO A. I. RYKOV. *First half of March* 273

222. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March* 274

223. TO NN. *March* 276

224. TO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GROUP IN THE THIRD DUMA. *Prior to April 19* 277

225. TO THE R.S.D.L.P. CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU ABROAD. *April 30* 277

226. TO A. I. LYUBIMOV AND M. K. VLADIMIROV. *July 3* . . . 278

227. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Prior to August* 279

228. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *September 5* 280

229. TO I. FRIMOU. *November 4* 281

230. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *November 10* 282

231. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *December 28* 283

1912

232. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March, prior to 10th* 284
233. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *April 5* 285
234. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *April, prior to 19th* 286
235. TO V. A. TER-IOANNISYAN. *May 5* 287
236. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *June, prior to 28th* 288
237. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *July, not later than 6th* 289
238. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *July 24* 291
239. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *July 28 or 29* 292
240. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *July 30* 294
241. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *August, prior to 25th* 295
242. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *August, prior to 25th* 296
243. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Prior to September 6* 297
244. A NOTE TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE C.O. *After September 6* 298
245. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *September 15* 298
246. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *After September 15* 301
247. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *After October 9* 302
248. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *October, prior to 23th* 302
249. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *October, prior to 24th* 303
250. TO N. G. POLETAYEV. *October 25* 303
251. TO MAXIM GORKY. *Second half of October* 304
252. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *November 8* 305
253. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *November 10* 306
254. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *November 10* 306
255. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Between November 17 and 23* 307
256. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Prior to November 20* 308
257. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *After November 25* 309
258. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 3* 310
259. TO DEMYAN BEDNY. *December 5* 311
260. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 8* 312
261. TO J. V. STALIN. *December 14* 316
262. TO J. V. STALIN. *December 16* 317

263. TO THE BOLSHEVIK DEPUTIES OF THE FOURTH DUMA. *December 17* 320

264. TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA. *December 19* 321

265. TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA. *December 20* 322

266. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *December 22* 324

1913

267. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *January 8* 325

268. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *January 10* 326

269. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *January 12* 327

270. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Not later than January 14* 328

271. TO I. A. PYATNITSKY. *After January 14* 329

272. TO THE EDITOR OF *BREMER BÜRGER-ZEITUNG*. *First half of January* 332

273. TO MAXIM GORKY. *January 21* 333

274. TO G. M. VYAZMENSKY. *After January 22* 334

275. TO THE BOLSHEVIK DEPUTIES OF THE FOURTH DUMA. *January 25* 335

276. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Early February* 335

277. TO N. OSINSKY. *February 13* 336

278. TO N. G. POLETAYEV. *February 25* 337

279. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 8* 339

280. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April 7* 339

281. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April 17* 341

282. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *After April 26* 341

283. TO I. E. HERMAN. *Prior to May 6* 342

284. TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *May 8* 343

285. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Prior to May 20* 344

286. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *After June 4* 345

287. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *Prior to June 7* 346

288. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *June 7* 348

289. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *June 8* 349

290. TO THE GROUP OF BOLSHEVIK MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE METALWORKERS' TRADE UNION. *June 16* 349
291. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *PRAVDA*. *June 16* 350
292. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *June 16* 353
293. TO MAXIM GORKY. *Prior to June 22* 355
294. TO THE EDITORS OF *PRAVDA*. *June, not earlier than 25th* 356
295. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *June 29* 357
296. TO LYDIA KNIPOVICH. *Between August 5 and 7* 358
297. TO V. M. KASPAROV. *August 21* 358
298. TO THE EDITORS OF *SEVERNAYA PRAVDA*. *After August 21* 359
299. TO V. M. KASPAROV. *August 25* 360
300. TO JOHANN DIETZ. *October 3* 360
301. TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *October not earlier than 27th* 361
302. TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Not earlier than November 1* 362
303. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *November 3* 364
304. TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *Between November 11 and 28* 365
305. TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *December 8 or 9* . . . 365
306. TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *December 16* 366
307. TELEGRAM TO THE EDITORS OF *ZA PRAVDU*. *December 18* 367
308. TO V. S. VOITINSKY. *December 20* 367
309. A NOTE TO THE EDITORS OF *PROLETARSKAYA PRAVDA*. *Second half of December* 370

1914

310. TO I. E. HERMAN. *January 2* 371
311. TO I. E. HERMAN AND I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *January 7* . . . 372
312. TO I. F. POPOV. *January 7* 374
313. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS OR I. E. HERMAN. *January 11* . . . 374
314. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Not earlier than January 11* . . . 375
315. TO V. P. MILYUTIN. *January 14* 376
316. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Prior to January 22* 376

317. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 25* 377
318. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Prior to January 26* 377
319. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 26* 379
320. TO N. V. KUZNETSOV. *January 26* 380
321. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 28* 381
322. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *January 29* 383
323. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *February 2* 384
324. TO V. M. KASPAROV. *After February 11* 385
325. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *February 27* 385
326. TO THE EDITORS OF *PROSVESHCHENIYE*. *February 27* . . 386
327. TO F. N. SAMOILOV. *February* 387
328. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March 2* 388
329. TO THE BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.S.D.L.P., IN RUSSIA. *March 4* 389
330. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March 7* 390
331. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *After March 12* 392
332. TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY. *March 15* 392
333. TO CAMILLE HUYSMANS. *March 15* 393
334. TO INESSA ARMAND. *After March 15* 394
335. TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV. *March 24* 394
336. TO INESSA ARMAND. *April, prior to 8th* 396
337. TO INESSA ARMAND. *April 11* 398
338. TELEGRAM TO THE EDITORS OF *PUT PRAVDY* ON THE OCCASION OF ITS SECOND ANNIVERSARY. *Prior to May 5* 399
339. TO C. L. SHKLOVSKY. *May 12* 399
340. TO INESSA ARMAND. *First half of May* 400
341. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *Between May 15 and 31* 401
342. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *May 19* 402
343. TO INESSA ARMAND. *May 25* 402
344. TO G. I. PETROVSKY. *After May 25* 403
345. TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT BROS. ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY. *Between June 6 and July 21* 404

346. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *TRUDOVAYA PRAVDA*. *June after 18th* 404
347. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 4th* 406
348. TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. *Not earlier than July 4th* 407
349. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 6th* 408
350. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 6th* 409
351. TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *Prior to July 6th* 410
352. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 9th* 412
353. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 9th* 412
354. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 10th* 413
355. TO I. F. POPOV. *July, prior to 10th* 415
356. TO THE PRIBOI PUBLISHERS. *July 11* 416
357. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 12* 416
358. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 13th* 417
359. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Not later than July 16* 420
360. TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *After July 18* 421
361. TO V. M. KASPAROV. *After July 18* 422
362. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 19* 423
363. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 19* 424
364. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July, prior to 24th* 425
365. TO JANSSON OR STIETZ. *July 25* 426
366. TO I. RUDIS-GIPSLIS. *July 25* 428
367. TO V. M. KASPAROV. *Second half of July* 430
368. TELEGRAM TO THE CHIEF OF CRACOW CITY POLICE. *August 7* 430
369. TO THE SECRETARY, EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE GRANAT PUBLISHING HOUSE. *September 15* 431
370. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Prior to September 28* 432
371. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *October 20* 433
372. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 14* 434
373. TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH. *November 18* 435
374. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 20* 435
375. TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH. *November 21* 436

376. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 22* 436
377. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 25* 437
378. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *November 25* 437
379. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 26 or 27* 438
380. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Prior to November 28* 438
381. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *November 28* 439
382. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *December 1* 441
383. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *December 11* 441
384. TO M. V. KOBETSKY. *Prior to December 16* 442

1915

385. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *January 3* 443
386. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Between January 3 and 9* 444
387. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *January 9* 445
388. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *January 17* 446
389. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Prior to February 1* 446
390. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *February 3* 447
391. TO JAKUB HANECKI. *February 17* 448
392. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *February 20* 448
393. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *February 24* 449
394. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between February 27 and March 4* . 450
395. TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *March 9* 450
396. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *March 12* 451
397. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Prior to March 23* 452
398. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *May 5* 452
399. TO HERMAN GORTER. *May 5* 453
400. TO INESSA ARMAND. *After June 4* 454
401. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After June 24* 456
402. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to July 5* 456
403. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 5* 458
404. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to July 11* 460
405. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between July 11 and 30*. 460
406. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 11* 461
407. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 11* 463

408. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *July 20* 465
409. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *July 21* 466
410. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *July 22* 467
411. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 23* 469
412. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *July 24* 469
413. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 24* 470
414. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 26* 471
415. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 26* 472
416. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to July 28* 473
417. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *July 28* 474
418. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 28* 475
419. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between July 28 and August 2* . . . 476
420. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Between July 28 and August 2* . . 477
421. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *July 30* 478
422. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *August 11* 479
423. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *After August 15* 479
424. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to August 19* 480
425. TO DAVID WIJNKOOP. *After August 19* 481
426. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *August 21* 483
427. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to August 23* 483
428. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *After August 23* 485
429. TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *After August 23* 485
430. TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *August 26* 486
431. TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *August 27* 486
432. TO PAUL GOLAY. *August 28* 487
433. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 30* 487
434. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 30 or 31* 488
435. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After September 8* 489
436. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 18 or 19* 490
437. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to September 19* 490
438. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *September 19* 491
439. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *September 19* 492
440. TO ALEXANDROVICH. *September 19* 493

441. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After September 21* 495
442. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between September 26 and October 5* 496
443. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Prior to October 6* 497
444. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Prior to November 9* 498
445. TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *Prior to November 9* 498
446. TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *After November 21* 499
447. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to November 27* 501
448. TO G. Y. BELENKY. *After December 27* 502

1916

449. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 15* 504
450. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 19* 505
451. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 21* 507
452. TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *January 30* 508
453. TO KARL RADEK. *After February 1* 509
454. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *February 12* 509
455. TO INESSA ARMAND. *February 26* 510
456. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between March 2 and 25* 511
457. TO HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST. *March 8* 513
458. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After March 16* 516
459. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to March 19* 517
460. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to March 20* 519
461. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *March 20* 520
462. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *March 20 or 21* 520
463. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *March 21* 522
464. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to March 23* 523
465. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between March 23 and 25* 524
466. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After March 23* 525
467. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 31* 526
468. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 4* 526
469. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After April 4* 527
470. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 10* 529
471. TO G. L. PYATAKOV, YEVGENIA BOSH, N. I. BUKHARIN. *After April 10* 529

472. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to April 18* 531
473. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to April 18* 532
474. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 18* 533
475. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between April 18 and 24* 534
476. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between May 2 and June 2* 535
477. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *May 16* 536
478. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to May 17* 537
479. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 17* 537
480. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *May 19* 538
481. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 19* 540
482. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 24* 541
483. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *Between June 3 and 6* 542
484. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 6* 543
485. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between June 17 and 25* 544
486. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After June 20* 544
487. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 4* 545
488. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July 4* 546
489. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 7* 547
490. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 20* 548
491. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After July 23* 548
492. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July 24* 549
493. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *July 24* 551
494. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July, after 24th* 551
495. TO INESSA ARMAND. *July 25* 552
496. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July, after 26th* 553
497. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Not earlier than July 30* 554
498. TO INESSA ARMAND. *August 1* 555
499. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between August 2 and 11* 555
500. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *August 5* 556
501. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *Between August 5 and 31* 557
502. TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *Beginning of August* 558
503. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Between August 10 and 20* 559
504. TO G. L. PYATAKOV. *Between August 10 and 20* 560

505. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Prior to August 22* 561
506. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After August 22* 562
507. TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *August 31* 563
508. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *August 31* 564
509. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 565
510. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 565
511. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 566
512. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 567
513. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August* 568
514. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *End of August-beginning of September* 569
515. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *End of August-beginning of September* 570
516. TO INESSA ARMAND. *September 15* 571
517. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *Mid-September* 572
518. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *October 3* 573
519. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *October, not later than 5th* 573
520. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *October 14* 575
521. TO INESSA ARMAND. *October 21* 579
522. TO INESSA ARMAND. *October 28* 579
523. TO INESSA ARMAND. *October 30* 580
524. TO INESSA ARMAND. *October 31* 581
525. TO INESSA ARMAND. *November 4* 581
526. TO INESSA ARMAND. *November 7* 583
527. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Prior to November 26* 584
528. TO INESSA ARMAND. *November 26* 585
529. TO M. G. BRONSKI. *Beginning of December* 586
530. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *December 6* 586
531. TO INESSA ARMAND. *December 17* 587
532. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *After December 20* 589

1917

533. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *January 3* 590
534. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 6* 590

535. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January after 6th* 594
536. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 7* 595
537. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *January 8* 596
538. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *Between January 10 and 22* 597
539. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 13* 598
540. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 14* 599
541. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 15* 601
542. TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH. *January 15* . . 602
543. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 16* 603
544. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 19* 603
545. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 20* 604
546. TO INESSA ARMAND. *January 22* 605
547. TO INESSA ARMAND. *February 2* 607
548. TO KARL RADEK. *February 3* 608
549. TO INESSA ARMAND. *February 7* 609
550. TO INESSA ARMAND. *February 14* 610
551. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Between February 19 and 27* . . . 611
552. TO INESSA ARMAND. *February 27* 612
553. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 8* 614
554. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 13* 615
555. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 18* 616
556. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 19* 616
557. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *March 21* 618
558. TO JAKUB HANECKI. *March 22* 619
559. TO THE EDITORS OF THE SWEDISH *SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN*. *March 22* 620
560. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 23* 620
561. TO INESSA ARMAND. *March 27* 621
562. TO SOPHIA RAVICH. *March 27* 622
563. TO JAKUB HANECKI. *Prior to March 30* 622
564. TO INESSA ARMAND. *Between March 31 and April 4* . . 623
565. TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI. *April 1* 624
566. TO V. A. KARPINSKY AND SOPHIA RAVICH. *April 4* . . . 624
567. TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 6* 625

568. TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 6* 626
569. TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI. *April 7* 626
570. TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI. *April 7* 626
571. TELEGRAM TO M. M. KHARITONOV. *April 7* 627
572. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 9* 627
573. TELEGRAM TO M. G. BRONSKI AND KARL RADEK. *After April 9* 627
574. TELEGRAM TO JAKUB HANECKI. *April 12* 628
575. TELEGRAM TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 14* 628
576. TO V. A. KARPINSKY. *April 15* 629
577. TO JAKUB HANECKI. *April 15* (*May 4*) 629
578. GREETINGS TO COMRADE HÖGLUND. *April 23* (*May 6*) . . 630
579. TO THE PRESIDING COMMITTEE OF THE FRONTLINE CONGRESS. *Not later than April 29* (*May 12*) 631
580. TO KARL RADEK. *May 29* 632
581. TO THE LEGAL COMMITTEE. *June 13* 633
582. TELEGRAM TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU ABROAD. *June 16* (*24*) 634
583. TO KARL RADEK. *June 17* 634
584. TO THE BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *June 6* 636
585. TO KUSTAA ROVIO. *September 27* (*October*) 636
586. TO KUSTAA ROVIO. *After September 27* (*October*) 637
587. A NOTE TO MARGARITA FOFANOVA. *October 24* (*November 6*) 638
Notes 639
Name Index 724

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME
44

October 1917–November 1920

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Page

Preface 35

1917

1. INSTRUCTION TO THE RED GUARD STAFF. *October 30* (*November 12*) 43
2. TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). *November 2* (*15*) 43
3. TO Y. M. SVERDLOV. *Not earlier than November 8* (*21*). 44
4. TO THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR INFORMATION OF THE LABOUR PRESS OF AMERICA, FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN. *November*, *prior to 10* (*23*) 44
5. TO MAJOR-GENERAL S. I. ODINTSOV. *November 15* (*28*). 45
6. TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) *November 25* (*December 8*) 45
7. TELEGRAM TO THE ARMY IN THE FIELD. *November 26* (*December 9*). 46
8. TO THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) *November*, *not later than 29* (*December 12*) 46
9. TELEGRAM TO THE COMMITTEE FOR ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, *November 30* (*December 13*) . . . 48
10. TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). *December 8* (*21*) 48
11. TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *December 8* (*21*) 49
12. TO G. I. BLAGONRAVOV AND V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *December 8* (*21*) 49
13. TELEGRAM TO V. V. VOROVSKY. *December*, *after 8* (*21*) . 50
14. TO V. V. OBOLENSKY. *December 18* (*31*) 50
15. TO P. A. KOZMIN. *December 20* (*January 2*, *1918*) . . . 50
16. TO CHARLES DUMAS. *December 21* (*January 3*, *1918*) . . 51

17. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *December 30 (January 12, 1918)* 52

1918

18. TELEGRAM TO L. M. KARAKHAN. *January 3 (16)* 53
19. INSTRUCTION. *Night of January 5 (18)* 53
20. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE. *January 7 (20)* 54
21. TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN. *January 7 (20)* 54
22. INSTRUCTION TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *January, not earlier than 8 (21)* 55
23. TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD AND THE FOOD DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *January 13 (26)* 55
24. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *January 13 (26)* 56
25. TELEGRAM TO KHARKOV AND MOSCOW. *January 13 (26)* . 56
26. TO KARL RADEK. *January 14 (27)* 57
27. TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *January 15 (28)* 57
28. TO N. I. PODVOISKY AND N. V. KRYLENKO. *January 15 (28)* 58
29. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR MILITARY AFFAIRS. *January 17 (30)* 58
30. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *January 17 (30)* 59
31. TELEGRAM TO KULLERVO MANNER AND KARL VIIK. *January 24 (February 6)* 59
32. TELEGRAM TO ARTHUR HENDERSON. *January 24 (February 6)* 60
33. TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. *January 29 (February 11)* 60
34. TELEGRAM TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. *January 30 (February 12)* 61
35. TO A. L. KOLEGAYEV. *January 30 (February 12)* 61
36. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *January 30 (February 12)* 61
37. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *January 30 (February 12)* 62
38. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *January 30 (February 12)* 62
39. INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY. *February 14* 63

40. TELEGRAM TO KULLERVO MANNER. *February 14* 63
41. RADIO-TELEGRAM TO CENTROBALT. *Night of February 14* 64
42. TELEGRAM TO E. V. LUGANOVSKY, PEOPLE'S SECRETARY OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC. *February 15* . . . 64
43. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE DON REGION. *February 16* 65
44. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO. *February 17* . 66
45. TO A. I. RYKOV. *February, after 18* 66
46. NOTE TO V. N. PODBELSKY IN MOSCOW BY DIRECT LINE. FEBRUARY 22, 1918 67
47. TO THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.). *February 22* 67
48. RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE PEACE DELEGATION. *February 25* 68
49. TELEGRAM TO IRKUTSK. *February 27* 68
50. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *March 4* 69
51. TO MARIA ANDREYEVA. *After March 12, 1918, but prior to September 1919* 69
52. TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 11* 70
53. TO THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS BOARD. *March 26* . . . 71
54. TELEGRAM TO THE SOVNARKOM OF THE PETROGRAD LABOUR COMMUNE. *March 28* 72
55. TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *March-April* 73
56. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *Not earlier than March 1918 and not later than September 1919* 73
57. TELEGRAM TO THE SOVNARKOM OF THE PETROGRAD LABOUR COMMUNE. *April 1* 73
58. CONVERSATION WITH V. V. KUIBYSHEV BY DIRECT LINE. *April, not earlier than 2 and not later than 4* . 74
59. TELEGRAM TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA. *April 5* 75
60. TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA. *April 6* . . 75
61. TO Y. M. SVERDLOV AND S. P. SEREDA. *April 8* 75
62. TO D. P. BOGOLEPOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *April 10* . . . 76
63. TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR JUSTICE. *April 15* 76
64. TO THE SOVIET AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS OF RYBINSK. *April, not earlier than 15* 77
65. TO D. P. BOGOLEPOV AND I. E. GUKOVSKY. *April 16* . . 78

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

66. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD SOVIET. *April 17* 78
67. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SIMBIRSK SOVIET. *April 20* 79
68. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *April 21* 79
69. TELEGRAM TO P. F. VINOGRADOV. *April, not earlier than 21* 80
70. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *April, prior to 23* 80
71. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 23* 81
72. TO THE PRESS BUREAU OF THE C.P.C. *April 27* 81
73. TO RAYMOND ROBINS. *April 30* 82
74. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *Not earlier than April* 82
75. TO P. P. MALINOVSKY. *Between May 1 and 13* 82
76. TELEGRAM TO V. N. ANDRONNIKOV, REGIONAL BOARD OF NATIONALISED ENTERPRISES OF THE URALS. *May 2* . 83
77. TO THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *May 3* 83
78. DRAFT OF A RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE PEACE DELEGATION IN KURSK. *May 6* 84
79. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 7 or 8* 85
80. TELEGRAM TO THE C.E.C. OF THE SOVIETS OF SIBERIA. *May 8*. 85
81. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 10* 86
82. TO M. G. BRONSKY. *May 14* 86
83. TO RAYMOND ROBINS. *May 14* 87
84. TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL. *May 16* 87
85. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 16* 88
86. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 20* . . 89
87. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 20* 90
88. TO A. A. JOFFE AND V. R. MENZHINSKY. *May 24* 90
89. INSTRUCTION ON THE REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF MAIN NAVAL HEADQUARTERS. *May 24* 92
90. TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *May 24* 93
91. TELEGRAM TO THE KINESHMA SOVIET. *May 24* 93
92. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *May 28* 95
93. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 28* . . 95
94. TO THE EDITORS OF *IZVESTIA*. *May 30* 96
95. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 31* 96

96. TELEGRAM TO THE VYKSA WORKERS. *May 31* 97
97. TO THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISTS. *May* . . 97
98. TO A. A. JOFFE. *June 2* 98
99. TELEGRAM TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN. *June 2* 99
100. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 7* . . 100
101. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 7* 101
102. TO A. P. SMIRNOV. *June 7* 101
103. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 10* 101
104. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 11* 102
105. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 11* 102
106. ADDITION TO THE TELEGRAM TO A. S. YAKUBOV, J. V. STALIN AND A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *June 11* 103
107. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 11* 104
108. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 14* 104
109. TO THE COMMISSARIATS FOR EDUCATION AND PROPERTIES OF THE REPUBLIC. *June 15* 105
110. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 17* 105
1. 105
2. 106
111. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *June 18* 106
112. TO A. A. JOFFE. *June 18* 106
113. TELEGRAM TO S. G. SHAHUMYAN. *June 18* 107
114. TO I. E. GUKOVSKY. *June 22* 108
115. TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.P.C. *June 26* 108
1. 108
2. 109
116. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 26* . 109
117. TO A. P. SMIRNOV, G. I. PETROVSKY AND I. E. GUKOVSKY. *June 28* 110
118. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 30* 111
119. TELEGRAM TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN. *End of June-not later than July 2* 111
120. TO A. A. JOFFE. *July 1* 112
121. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *July 3* 113
122. TELEGRAM TO D. Y. IVASHCHENKO. *July 4* 113
123. REPLY BY DIRECT LINE TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN. *July 7* . 114

124. TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS. *July 7* 114
125. TO I. E. GUKOVSKY. *July 11* 115
1. 115
2. 115
126. TO I. E. GUKOVSKY. *First half of July* 116
1. 116
2. 116
3. 116
127. TELEGRAM TO THE VORONEZH GUBERNIA MILITARY COMMISSAR. *July 12* 117
128. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR NAVAL AFFAIRS. *July 13* 117
129. TO N. I. PODVOISKY. *July 16* 117
130. TELEGRAM TO THE PERM SOVIET. *July 17* 118
131. TELEGRAM TO F. I. KOLESOV. *July 17* 118
132. TO N. I. PODVOISKY. *July 19* 119
133. TO S. P. SEREDA. *July 19* 119
134. TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS. *July 24* 120
135. TO Y. LARIN. *End of July-beginning of August* 120
136. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *July* 121
137. TO P. A. KOBOZEV, K. KH. DANISHEVSKY, K. A. MEKHONOSHIN, F. F. RASKOLNIKOV. *August 1* 122
138. TO A. A. JOFFE. *August 3* 123
139. TO J. A. BERZIN. *August 3* 123
140. TO A. D. TSYURUPA AND V. L. PANYUSHKIN. *Summer, prior to August 5* 124
141. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *August 8* 125
142. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE FOOD COMMISSARIAT. *August, after 8* . . 125
143. TELEGRAM TO A. D. METELEV. *August 9* 126
144. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *August 10* 127
1. 127
2. 127
3. 127
145. TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL. *August 10* . . . 128
146. TELEGRAM TO S. P. NATSARENUS. *August 11* 128
147. TELEGRAM TO THE VOLOGDA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 11* 129
148. TELEGRAM TO A. Y. MINKIN. *August 12* 129

149. TELEGRAM TO D. T. PETRUCHUK. *August 15* 130
150. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *First half of August* 130
151. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *August 16* 131
152. TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA. *August 16* 132
153. TELEGRAM TO S. V. MALYSHEV. *August 17* 132
154. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. I. MURALOV. *Not earlier than August 17 and not later than August 19* 133
155. TELEGRAM TO F. F. RASKOLNIKOV. *August 19* 133
156. TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA. *August 19* 133
157. TELEGRAM TO A. Y. MINKIN. *August 19* 134
158. TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 19* 135
159. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *August 19* 135
160. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *August 19* 136
161. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *August 19* 136
162. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *Prior to August 20* 136
163. TELEGRAM TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA FOOD COMMITTEE. *August 20* 137
164. TELEGRAM TO V. N. KHARLOV. *August 21* 137
165. TO MEDVEDEV, POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE 1st ARMY. *August 21* 138
166. TO THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL. *August 21* 139
167. TELEGRAMS TO A. K. PAIKES. *August 22* 139
1. 139
2. 139
168. TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *August 22* 140
169. TELEGRAM TO F. I. KOLESOV. *August 23* 140
170. TELEGRAM TO A. G. SCHLICHTER. *August 23* 141
171. TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA. *August 26* 142
172. TELEGRAM TO A. P. SMIRNOV. *August 26* 142
173. TELEGRAM TO S. P. SEREDA. *August 27* 143
174. TELEGRAM TO THE PENZA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 28* 143
175. TO V. M. ALTFATER 144
1. *August 28* 144
2. *August 29* 144
176. TELEGRAM TO V. N. KHARLOV. *August 29* 145

177. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *August 29* 145
178. TO S. P. SEREDA. *September 6* 146
179. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September 10* 146
180. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September 12* 147
181. TO GRIGORY NAUMOVICH, FOR THE GROUP OF STUDENTS INTERESTED IN COMMUNISM. *September 16* . . . 147
182. TELEGRAM TO THE POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES OF YELETS UYEZD. *September 17* 148
183. TO THE EDITORS OF *PRAVDA*. *September 18* 149
184. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *End of September-October* 149
185. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *October 1* 150
186. TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE. *October 7* 150
187. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND L. B. KRASIN. *October 9* 151
188. NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN OR L. M. KARAKHAN AND A LETTER TO A. A. JOFFE, J. A. BERZIN AND V. V. VOROVSKY. *October 10* 151
189. TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. M. KARAKHAN. *October 10* . 152
190. TO J. A. BERZIN. *October 15*. 153
191. TO A. A. JOFFE. *October 18* 155
192. TO A. A. JOFFE. *October 18* 156
193. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *October 21* 156
194. APPLICATION TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET JOURNALISTS' TRADE UNION. *October, not later than 22* . . 157
195. TELEGRAM TO P. P. SYTIN. *October 24* 157
196. TO J. A. BERZIN. *October 25* 158
197. TELEGRAM TO THE URALS ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *October 28* 159
198. TO THE BOARD OF PROPERTIES OF MOSCOW'S PEOPLE'S PALACES. *November 1* 159
199. TO J. A. BERZIN. *November 1* 160
200. TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF THE 2nd ARMY. *November 1* 161
201. TO R. I. BERZIN. *November, between 9 and 23* 161
202. TO B. S. WEISSBROT. *November 11* 162
203. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *November 13* 162
204. TELEGRAM TO I. I. VATSETIS. *November 15* 163
205. TO THE MANAGER OF THE PEOPLE'S BANK. *November 19* 163
206. TELEGRAM TO THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE OF THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE NORTHERN AREA. *November 21* 164

207. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *November 21* 164
208. TELEGRAM TO V. M. GITTIS. *November 23* 165
209. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *November 23* 165
210. TO THE BUSINESS MANAGER OF THE C.P.C. *November 26* 166
211. CONVERSATION BY DIRECT LINE WITH B. M. VOLIN. NOVEMBER 29, 1918 166
212. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *November 30* 167
213. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *December 3* 168
214. TELEGRAM TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *December 7* 169
215. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 10* 169
216. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *December 11* 169
217. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 12* 170
218. TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *December 12* 170
219. TELEGRAMS TO L. D. TROTSKY 171
1. *December 12* 171
2. *December 13* 172
220. TO G. I. PETROVSKY. *December 16* 173
221. TO Y. M. SVERDLOV. *December 16* 173
222. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *December 21* 173
223. TO D. A. BULATOV. *December 25* 174
224. TELEGRAM TO S. A. BANK. *December 25* 175
225. TELEGRAM TO THE RODNIKI EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *December 26* 175
226. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC. *December 27* 176
227. TELEGRAM TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE YUZHSK FACTORY. *December 28* 176
228. TELEGRAM TO THE RODNIKI EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *December 28* 177
229. TO THE LIBRARY SECTION OF THE COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION. *December 30* 177
230. TO S. P. SEREDA. *End of 1918* 178
231. NOTE ON THE PUBLICATION OF LEAFLETS. *End of 1918* 178

1919

232. TO V. I. NEVSKY. *January 1* 179
233. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *January 1* 179

234. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE COMMISSARIAT FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. *January 1* 180
235. TO A. N. PROKOFIEV. *January 3* 180
236. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *January 3* 181
237. TO THE VESYEGONSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE TVER GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *January 3* 181
238. TELEGRAM TO RYABININ. *January 5* 182
239. TELEGRAM TO THE SIMBIRSK GUBERNIA FOOD COMMISSAR. *January 6* 182
240. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV FOR THE UFA REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. *January 6* 183
241. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CASPIAN CAUCASIAN FRONT, THE ASTRAKHAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *January 7 or 8* 184
242. DIRECTIVE TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. *January 8* . . 185
243. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *January 9* 185
244.TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *January 10* 186
245. TELEGRAM TO THE RYAZAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *January 12* 186
246. TELEGRAM TO THE SUZDAL UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *January 12* 187
247. INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY. *January 13* 187
248. TELEGRAM TO A. P. KUDRYAVTSEV. *January 13* 187
249. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *January, not earlier than 14* . . . 188
250. TO THE BUSINESS MANAGER OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *January 18* 188
251. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *January 21* 189
252. TO M. K. VLADIMIROV. *January 22* 189
253. TO K. I. LANDER. *January 23* 190
254. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *January 24* 191
255. TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *January 27* 191
256. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *January 30* 192
257. TO L. B. KRASIN. *January-February* 192
258. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY AND V. N. PODBELSKY 193
1. *February 10* 193
2. *February 11* 193
259. TELEGRAM TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *February 12* 193

260. TO G. I. PETROVSKY. *February 13* 194
261. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE EASTERN FRONT. *February 14* 194
262. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *February 18* 195
263. TELEGRAM TO THE YELATMA UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *February 18* 195
264. TELEGRAM TO P. I. STUČKA AND J. A. BERZIN. *February 19* 196
265. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV. *February 19* 196
266. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *February 21*. 196
267. TO THE TEACHERS OF TVER GUBERNIA. *February 22* . . 197
268. TO CERTIFICATE TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DANILOV TEXTILE MILL. *February 24* 197
269. TELEGRAMS TO M. K. VLADIMIROV. *February 26* 198
1. 198
2. 198
270. TELEGRAM TO S. Y. TSEKHANOVSKY. *February 26* 199
271. TO MARIA KOSTELOVSKAYA. *February 27* 199
272. TO A. I. SVIDERSKY. *Between February and early March* 199
273. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *March 4* 200
1. 200
2. 200
274. TO THE C.C. OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *Between March 4 and 24* 200
275. TELEGRAM TO P. P. MYSHKIN. *March 8* 200
276. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *March 8* 201
277. TELEGRAM TO A. L. KOLEGAYEV. *March 10* 201
278. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 12* 202
279. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *March, after 17* 202
280. TO G. I. PETROVSKY. *March, not later than 22* 202
281. TELEGRAM TO V. N. KAYUROV. *March 27* 203
282. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. *April 2*. 203
283. TELEGRAM TO G. N. KAMINSKY. *April 4* 204
284. TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF THE 10th ARMY. *April 4*. 204
285. RADIO-TELEGRAM TO BELA KUN. *April 4* 205
286. TO D. I. KURSKY. *April, not later than 5* 206

287. TO THE SARATOV SOVIET BODIES (GUBERNIA FOOD COMMITTEE, GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ETC.). *April 5* 206
288. REPLY TO PEASANTS OF SKOPIN UYEZD. *April 5* 207
289. TO S. P. SEREDA AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *April 7* 207
290. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. L. PANYUSHKIN. *April 7* . . 208
291. TO RADIO-TELEGRAMS TO BELA KUN. *June 16* 208
1. *April 7* 208
2. *April 8* 208
292. TELEGRAM TO THE KNYAGININ UYEZD LAND DEPARTMENT. *April 8* 209
293. TELEGRAM TO N. N. KUZMIN. *April 8* 209
294. TELEGRAM TO THE KAZAN GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *April 9* 210
295. TELEGRAM TO S. K. MININ. *April 11* 210
296. TELEGRAM TO THE OREL GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *April 12* 210
297. TELEGRAM TO MAXIM GORKY. *April 14* 211
298. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *April 15* 211
299. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 18* 212
300. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *April 18* 213
301. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *April 18* 213
302. TO THE TAMBOV GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *April 20* 214
303. TELEGRAM TO I. I. VATSETIS AND S. I. ARALOV. *April 21 or 22* 215
304. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *April 24* 216
305. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *April 24* 216
306. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *April 26* 217
307. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV. *April 26* 217
308. TELEGRAM TO K. A. MEKHONOSHIN. *April 26* 217
309. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 26* 218
310. PROTECTION CERTIFICATE FOR V. I. TANEYEV. *April 26* 218
311. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April 28* 219
312. LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION FOR V. S. MITSKEVICH. *April 29* 220
313. TO THE PETROGRAD ORGANISATIONS. *Second half of April* 220
314. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April* 221

315. TO MARIA KOSTELOVSKAYA. *April* 222
316. TO J. E. RUDZUTAK. *May 2* 222
317. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *May 2* 222
318. TO A. Y. BADAYEV. *May 4* 223
319. TELEGRAM TO V. A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO AND N. I. PODVOISKY. *May 5* 223
320. TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND M. M. LITVINOV. *May 6* 224
321. TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK. *May 7* 226
322. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SOCIAL SECURITY. *May 10*. 226
323. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *May 12* 227
324. TELEGRAM TO M. I. KALININ. *May 13* 227
325. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *May 14* 228
326. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *May 15* 229
327. TELEGRAM TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *May 15*. 229
328. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *May 15* 230
329. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *May 20*. 230
330. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *May 20* 231
331. TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK. *May 20* 232
332. TELEGRAM TO THE NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *May 20* 232
333. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *May 22* 233
334. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *May 22* 233
335. TELEGRAMS TO THE TAMBOV AND VORONEZH GUBERNIA MILITARY COMMISSARS. *May 24* 234
1. 234
2. 234
336. TELEGRAM TO THE ODESSA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *May 24* 235
337. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *May 24* 236
338. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *May 28* 236
339. TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE. *May 29* 237
340. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *May 30* 238
341. TELEGRAM TO V. R. MEZHLAUK AND K. Y. VOROSHILOV. *May 30* 238
342. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *May 30* 239

343. TO THE ALL-RUSSIA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS. *May 31* . . 239
344. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH E. M. SKLYANSKY. *May or June* 239
345. TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK, K. Y. VOROSHILOV G. N. MELNICHANSKY, F. A. ARTYOM, G. N. KAMINSKY. *June 1* 240
346. TELEGRAM TO V. I. MEZHLAUK AND K. Y. VOROSHILOV. *June 1* 241
347. INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY. *June 2* 241
348. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 3* 242
349. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV, M. M. LASHEVICH, K. K. YURENEV. *June 3* 243
350. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *June 3* 243
351. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *June, after 3* 244
352. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH. *June 4* 245
353. TO M. I. LACIS. *June 4* 245
354. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 4* 246
355. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 4* 246
356. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 5* 247
357. TELEGRAM TO A. S. BUBNOV. *June 5* 247
358. TELEGRAM TO D. I. YEFREMOV, MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 10th ARMY. *June 6* 248
359. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *June 6* 248
360. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *June 6* 249
361. TELEGRAM TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH. *June 6* 249
362. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *June 8* 250
363. TELEGRAMS TO S. I. GUSEV AND M. M. LASHEVICH. *June 11* 251
1. 251
2. 251
3. 252
364. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *June 11* 252
365. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 13* 253
366. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 16* 253
367. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC. *June 16* 254

368. TO THE C.C., R.C.P. *June 17* 255
369. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *June, prior to 18* 255
370. TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH. *June 18* 256
371. REPLY BY DIRECT LINE TO V. I. NEVSKY AND L. S. SOSNOVSKY. *June 20* 257
372. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *June 21* 257
373. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *June 21* 258
374. TO A. I. SVIDERSKY OR A. D. TSYURUPA. *June 23* . . . 258
375. TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH AND K. K. YURENEV. *June 27* 258
376. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *End of June-beginning of July* . 259
377. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *July 1* 259
378. TELEGRAM TO THE POROKHOVO DISTRICT SOVIET. *July 2* 260
379. TO MAXIM GORKY. *July 5* 260
380. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *July 5* 260
381. TO THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *July 8* 261
382. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *July 8* 262
383. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *July 8* 262
384. TELEGRAM TO V. A. RADUS-ZENKOVICH. *July 11* 263
385. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY, N. I. PODVOISKY, AND TO ALL UKRAINIAN MILITARY COMMISSARS. *July 11* . . 263
386. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *July, prior to 14* 264
387. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *July 15* 264
388. TO J. HANECKI. *July 16* 265
1. 265
2. 265
389. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *July 16* 265
390. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *July 17* 266
391. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *July 18* 266
392. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE EASTERN FRONT. *July 19* 267
393. NOTE ON THE INVOICE OF THE SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION. *July 19* 267

394. TO V. P. MILYUTIN AND P. I. POPOV. *July 22* 268
395. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *July 25* 268
396. TELEGRAM TO N. V. KRYLENKO. *July 25* 269
397. UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON A TELEGRAM FROM P. I. VOYEVODIN. *July 25* 269
398. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *July 28* 270
399. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *July 29* 271
400. TO BELA KUN. *End of July* 271
401. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *August 3 or 4* 272
402. INSTRUCTION ON A LETTER FROM THE SIBERIAN AFFAIRS COMMISSION. *August 5* 272
403. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *August 7* 273
404. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 7* 273
405. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU, C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *August 8* 274
406. TELEGRAM TO YEVETSKY. *August 8* 274
407. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA, M. M. LASHEVICH, G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *August 13* 275
408. TO YELENA STASOVA. *August 13* 275
409. TO M. K. VLADIMIROV. *August 14* 276
410. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA. *August, not earlier than 16* 276
411. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCILS OF THE 10th AND 4th ARMIES. *August 20* 277
412. TO THE AGRICULTURAL SECTION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET FOOD DEPARTMENT. *August 23* 277
413. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 26* 278
414. TELEGRAM TO N. OSINSKY. *August 26* 278
415. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *August 26 or 27* 278
416. TELEGRAM TO M. M. LASHEVICH. *August 28* 279
417. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *August 30* 279
418. RADIO-TELEGRAM TO THE TASHKENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *August 30* 280
419. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY AND I. T. SMILGA. *Summer* . . . 280
420. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *September 1* 281
421. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY, L. P. SEREBRYAKOV, M. M. LASHEVICH. *September 6* 281
422. TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE BOARDS AND PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF ALL THE COMMISSARIATS. *September 6* . . . 282

423. MARKINGS ON THE REPORT OF K. F. MARTINOVICH AND A NOTE TO L. D. TROTSKY, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *September 12* . . 282
424. TO J. V. STALIN AND M. F. VLADIMIRSKY. *September 12* . 283
425. TO MAXIM GORKY. *September 15* 283
426. TO L. D. TROTSKY, L. P. SEREBRYAKOV, M. M. LASHEVICH. *September 16* 286
427. TO MAXIM GORKY. *September, not earlier than 26* . . . 286
428. TO THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *September 30* 287
429. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *September* 287
430. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *October 2* 288
431. TO I. T. SMILGA. *October 4* 288
432. TELEGRAM TO THE ORENBURG GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.) AND GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *October 8* 289
433. TO THE COMRADES OF THE PETROGRAD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *October 10* 289
434. REMARKS ON A LETTER FROM G. V. CHICHERIN. *October 12* 290
435. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV AND M. V. FRUNZE. *October 13* 291
436. TO THE DUTCH COMMUNISTS. *October 14* 291
437. TO V. A. AVANESOV, E. M. SKLYANSKY, M. I. ROGOV, F. F. SYROMOLOTOV, V. P. MILYUTIN. *October 15* 292
438. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY, N. A. SEMASHKO AND L. B. KAMENEV. *October 15* 293
439. TELEGRAM TO G. N. KAMINSKY. *October 16* 293
440. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 17* 294
441. INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S TELEGRAM. *October 17* 295
442. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *October 18* 295
443. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 18* 296
444. TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG. *October 19* 296
445. TELEGRAM TO A. D. NAGLOVSKY. *October 19* 297
446. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *October 20* 297
447. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *October 21* 298
448. TELEGRAM TO V. M. GITTIS AND A. I. POTYAEV. *October 21* 298
449. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 22* 299

450. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 22* 300
451. TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *October 22* 300
452. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OREL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *October 22* 301
453. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *October 24* 301
454. TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *October 25* 302
455. TELEGRAM TO K. A. PETERSON. *October 25* 303
456. TELEGRAM TO THE PUGACHEV UYEZD FOOD CONFERENCE. *October 26* 303
457. TO ALL SOVIET INSTITUTIONS AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. *October 27* 303
458. TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN. *October 27* 304
459. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *October 27* 304
460. TO V. A. KUGUSHEV. *October 28* 305
461. TELEGRAM TO D. N. AVROV, J. KH. PETERS, V. G. GROMAN. *October 28* 305
462. TO Z. P. SOLOVYOV. *November 1* 306
463. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *November 1* 307
464. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *November 1* 307
465. TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG. *November 1* 308
466. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *November 2* 308
467. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *November, not later than 6* 309
468. TELEGRAM TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *November 11* 309
469. TO THE CHIEF PEAT COMMITTEE. *November 11* 310
470. TO YEVGENIA POPOVA. *November 20* 310
471. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 3rd ARMY, THE PERM GUBERNIA COMMISSAR FOR FOOD, THE COMMISSAR OF THE PERM RAILWAY, AND THE EKATERINBURG GUBERNIA COMMISSAR FOR FOOD. *November 20* 311
472. TO A. S. YENUKIDZE. *November 21* 311
473. TELEGRAM TO B. S. WEISSBROT. *November 25* 312
474. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *November 27* 312
475. TO V. P. MILYUTIN. *November 27* 313

476. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. *December, not earlier than 5 and not later than 9* 314
477. TO YELENA STASOVA. *December, after 9* 314
478. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *December 10* 314
479. TELEGRAM TO SH. Z. ELIAVA, J. E. RUDZUTAK, V. V. KUIBYSHEV. *December 11* 315
480. UNDERLININGS ON A TELEGRAM FROM A. K. PAIKES AND A NOTE TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *December, not earlier than 11 and not later than 16* 315
481. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *December 15* 316
482. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *December 15* 316
483. TO L. B. KRASIN. *December 17* 317
484. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *December, not later than 18* 317
485. TO SH. Z. ELIAVA. *December 19* 318
486. TELEGRAM TO RYAZAN. *December 21* 319
487. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *December 22* 320
488. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *December 23* 321
489. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *December, not earlier than 25* 321
490. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *December 26* 322
491. TELEGRAM TO T. V. SAPRONOV. *December 26* 322
492. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *December 27* 323
493. TO THE CENTRAL COLLEGIUM OF AGITATIONAL CENTRES. *December 30* 323

1920

494. TO SOPHIA BRICHKINA. *Early in January* 324
495. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *January 2* 324
496. TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *January 2* 325
497. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *January 4* 325
498. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *January 4* 327
499. TO A. I. SVIDERSKY. *January 5* 327
500. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *January, not earlier than 5 and not later than 23* 328

501. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 3rd ARMY. *January 12* 328
502. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *January 12* 329
503. TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE C.P.C. *January 12* 329
504. UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON S. I. SYRTSOV'S TELEGRAM. *January, not earlier than 13 and not later than 15* 330
505. TO THE CHIEF COAL COMMITTEE. *January 14* 330
506. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *January 15* 331
507. TO THE CHIEF OIL COMMITTEE OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *January 15* 331
508. TELEGRAM TO K. G. MYASKOV. *January 15* 332
509. POSTSCRIPT TO L. D. TROTSKY'S TELEGRAM. *January 17* 332
510. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *January 18* 333
511. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *January 20* 333
512. TELEGRAM TO H. Y. YUMAGULOV. *January, after 20* . . . 333
513. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 5th ARMY. *January 21* 334
514. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *January, not later than 23* . . 335
515. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 1st LABOUR ARMY. *January 23* 336
516. TO THE RUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY. *January 27* . . . 337
517. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *End of January* 337
518. TO TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *February 5* . . . 338
519. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD CHEKA. *February 5* 338
520. TELEGRAM TO S. T. KOVYLKIN. *February 7* 339
521. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE LABOUR ARMY. *February 10* 339
522. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *February 10* 340
523. TO S. P. SEREDA AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *February 14* . . . 340
524. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *February 17* 341
525. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *February 19* 342
526. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *February 19* 342
527. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *February 20* 343

528. TELEGRAM TO D. Z. MANUILSKY. *February 22* 343
529. TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY. *February 23* 344
530. INSTRUCTION ON ZALYGIN'S TELEGRAM. *February, not earlier than 24* 344
531. TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA AND SARATOV GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEES AND GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. *February 25* 345
532. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD. *February 25* 346
533. TO V. N. LOBOVA, A. Y. MINKIN, Y. M. YAROSLAVSKY. *February 26* 346
534. TELEGRAM TO F. F. RASKOLNIKOV. *February 27* 347
535. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE FOOD COMMISSARIAT. *February 27* 348
536. TO K. A. ALFEROV. *February 27* 348
537. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *February 28* 349
538. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *February 28* 349
539. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *End of February-beginning of March* 350
540. TO L. B. KRASIN. *Not earlier than March 1* 350
541. FOR LANSBURY. *March 2* 351
542. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA AND G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 3* 351
543. TELEGRAM TO N. N. KUZMIN. *March 5* 352
544. TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV. *March 5* 352
545. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *March 7* 353
546. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *March, not earlier than 8 and not later than 20* 354
547. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *March 9* 354
548. TELEGRAM TO A. LOMOV. *March 9* 355
549. INSTRUCTION TO PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS. *March 10* . 355
550. TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *March 11* 356
551. TELEGRAM TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *March 11* 356
552. TELEGRAM TO F. F. RASKOLNIKOV AND S. M. KIROV. *March 14* 357
553. TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-UKRAINE CONFERENCE OF BOROTBISTS. *March 16* 357
554. TO L. B. KRASIN. *March 16* 358

555. TO L. B. KRASIN. *March, after 16* 358
556. TO AN UNIDENTIFIED ADDRESSEE. *After March 16* . . . 358
557. TELEGRAM TO MAXIM GORKY. *March 19* 359
558. TELEGRAM TO B. I. GOLDBERG. *March 20* 359
559. TO KARL RADEK. *March, not earlier than 23* 360
560. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO J. V. STALIN. *March 24* 360
561. TELEGRAM TO A. Y. SHUMSKY. *March 24* 361
562. TO THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *March 24* 361
563. NOTE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH THE DRAFT OF A TELEGRAM TO SH. Z. ELIAVA AND J. E. RUDZUTAK. *March 24* 362
564. TO A. I. SVIDERSKY. *March, not earlier than 24* . . . 362
565. THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *March 26* 363
566. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March 28* 363
567. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *Not later than March* 364
568. TO YELENA STASOVA. *Not later than March* 365
569. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *Not later than March* 365
570. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *March* 366
571. TO I. I. KHODOROVSKY. *April 6* 366
572. TELEGRAM TO THE SAMARA GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *April 6* 366
573. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *April 15* 367
574. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *April 16* 368
575. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *April 16* 368
576. UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON A. V. LUNACHARSKY'S LETTER. *April 17* 369
577. TELEGRAMS TO G. L. PYATAKOV. *April 20* 369
1. 369
2. 370
578. TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. *April 22* 370
579. INSTRUCTION ON L. B. KRASIN'S NOTE. *April, prior to 28* 371
580. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *Early in May* 371
581. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *May 3* 372
582. TELEGRAM TO F. Y. KON. *May 4* 372
583. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *May 4* 373

584. TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *May, after 5* 373
585. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *May 7*. 374
586. TO BASIN. *May 7* 374
587. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *May, not earlier than 7 and not later than 12* 374
588. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *May 11* 375
589. TO A. Y. BADAYEV. *May 16* 375
590. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *May 25* 376
591. RADIO-TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *May 25* 376
592. TO ALL PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *May 26* 377
593. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *May 27* 377
594. INSTRUCTION ON THE TELEGRAM FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CAUCASIAN FRONT. *May, not earlier than 27* 378
595. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 30* 378
596. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NIZHNI-NOVGOROD GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *May 31 or June 1*. 379
597. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *June 2* 379
598. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *June 2* 380
599. INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY. *June 2* 380
600. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *June 3* 381
601. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *June 3* 381
602. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *June 4* 382
603. TO V. V. VOROVSKY AND V. P. MILYUTIN. *June 4*. . . . 382
604. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *June 4* 383
1. 383
2. 383
605. EXCHANGE OF NOTES WITH K. A. ALFEROV. *June 4* . . . 383
606. TO S. I. BOTIN. *June 4* 384
607. TO V. A. OBUKH. *June 5* 384
608. TELEGRAM TO THE IRKUTSK GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OR GUBERNIA REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. *June 10* 385
609. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *June 11* 386
610. TO D. I. LESHCHENKO. *June 12* 386

611. TO THE FUEL DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET. *June 16* 387
612. TO A. M. HELLER. *June 18* 387
613. TO THE WARDEN OF THE 2nd HOUSE OF SOVIETS. *June 19* 388
614. MARKINGS ON P. V. BUKHARTSEV'S TELEGRAM CONCERNING THE AGREEMENT WITH THE AMERICAN CORPORATION, AND AN INSTRUCTION TO THE SECRETARY. *June 19* 389
615. TO A. N. MEREZHIN. *Between June 21 and July 26* . . . 390
616. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD. *June 22* 390
617. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MOSCOW GUBERNIA. *June 22* . . . 391
618. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *June 24* 391
619. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 25* 392
620. TO SIBERIAN SOVIET INSTITUTIONS. *June 26* 393
621. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *June 28* 393
622. TELEGRAM TO A. Y. BADAYEV AND AN INSTRUCTION TO D. I. KURSKY. *June 29* 393
623. TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV. *June 29* 394
624. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET. *June 29* . . 395
625. TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *June 29 or 30* 395
626. INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S LETTER. *Between July 3 and 13* 396
627. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July 4* 397
628. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July, prior to 6* 397
1. 397
2. 398
3. 398
629. TO G . Y. ZINOVIEV. *July 7* 398
630. TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV. *July, not earlier than 7* 399
631. TO M. M. GRUZENBERG. *July 8* 399
632. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR HEALTH. *July 8* . 400
633. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *July 9* 401
634. TO L. B. KAMENEV AND G. V. CHICHERIN. *July 10* . . . 401
635. UNDERLININGS AND AN INSTRUCTION ON I. N. SMIRNOV'S TELEGRAM. *July 11* 402

636. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *Between July 11 and 15* 402
637. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *July 12 or 13* 403
638. TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN. *July 15* 403
639. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *July 15* 404
640. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KAMENEV. *July 17* 404
641. TO THE POLISH BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *July 28* 406
642. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE. *End of July* 406
643. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *August 2* 408
644. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *August 3* 408
645. TO I. T. SMILGA AND M. N. TUKHACHEVSKY. *August 3* . . 409
646. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *August, not later than 5* 409
647. TELEGRAM TO J. V. STALIN. *August 7* 410
648. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND J. MARCHLEWSKI. *August 9* 410
649. TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. *August 10* 411
650. TO TELEGRAM TO A. G. BELOBORODOV. *August 10* . . . 411
651. TELEGRAM TO K. KH. DANISHEVSKY. *August 11* 412
652. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *August 11* 412
653. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *August 11* 413
654. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *August, not earlier than 11* 413
655. TO D. I. KURSKY. *August, not later than 12* 414
656. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *August 12* 414
657. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *August 12* 414
658. TELEGRAM TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 13* 415
659. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND A TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV. *August 14* 415
660. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *August, not earlier than 14* . . . 416
661. TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF HEALTH RESORTS AND SANATORIA OF THE CAUCASUS. *August 17* 417
662. TELEGRAM TO K. KH. DANISHEVSKY. *August 17* 417
663. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA. *August 18* 417
664. TELEGRAM TO I. T. SMILGA. *August 19* 418

665. TELEGRAM TO KARL RADEK. *August 19* 418
666. TELEGRAM TO V. P. ZATONSKY. *August 19* 419
667. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *August, not later than 20* . . . 419
668. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *August 20* 420
669. TELEGRAM TO KARL RADEK, F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *August 20* 420
670. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KAMENEV AND A NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *August 20* 421
671. NOTE TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) WITH DRAFT OF A TELEGRAM TO V. S. MICKIEWICZ-KAPSUKAS. *August 20* 421
672. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 20* 422
673. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *August, prior to 21* 423
674. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *August 24* 423
675. TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *August, prior to 27* 423
676. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *August 27* 424
677. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *August 27* 424
678. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *August, not earlier than 28* . . 425
679. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *August 31* 425
680. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *September 2* 426
681. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *September 2* 426
682. INSTRUCTION ON NADEZHDA NIKULINA'S LETTER. *September, not earlier than 3* 427
683. TELEGRAM TO THE PODOLSK UYEZD FOOD COMMITTEE. *September 6* 427
684. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *September 6* 428
685. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September 8* 428
686. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September 9* 429
687. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. M. LEZHAVA. *September 10* 429
688. TO I. G. RUDAKOV. *September 10* 430
689. TELEGRAM TO V. Y. CHUBAR AND V. N. KSANDROV. *September 13 or 14* 431
690. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE CAUCASIAN FRONT. *September 13 or 14* . . . 431

691. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *September 14* 432
692. TO M. I. KALININ. *September 16* 432
693. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *September 16* 433
694. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *September 20* 433
695. MARKINGS ON S. S. KAMENEV'S REPORT AND A NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *September 23* 434
696. TELEGRAM TO A. A. JOFFE. *September 23* 434
697. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *September, not earlier than 24* . . 435
698. TO S. I. GILLERSON. *September 25* 435
699. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *September 25* 436
700. TO THE SIBERIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. *September 26* 436
701. NOTE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND MARKINGS ON BULLETIN No. 5 OF THE STATE COMMISSION FOR THE ELECTRIFICATION OF RUSSIA. *September 26* 437
702. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *September 27* 438
703. NOTE TO THE SECRETARY. *September, not earlier than 28* 439
704. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *September, not later than 29* . . 439
705. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *Between September and December* . . 439
706. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 1* 440
707. TO V. M. SVERDLOV. *October 1* 440
708. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 2* 441
709. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *October 3* 441
710. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *October 4* 442
711. TO A. I. RYKOV. *October 6* 442
712. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *October 6* 443
713. TO THE ORGANISING BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *October 8* 443
714. TELEGRAM TO L. D. TROTSKY. *October 10* 444
715. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *October 11* 445
716. TO A. M. HELLER. *Between October 11 and November 4* . 445
717. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *October 12* 446
718. PROPOSAL TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE SITUATION IN ARMENIA. *October 12* . . 446
719. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *After October 12* 446

720. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.). *October 13* 447
721. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *October 14* 447
722. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *October 15* 448
723. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *October 15* 448
724. TO THE STAFF OF THE CEMENT WORKS AT SHCHUROVO STATION. *October 16* 449
725. TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *October 16* . . . 449
726. TO S. P. SEREDA. *October 19* 450
727. TO V. S. KORNEV. *October 19* 450
728. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *October, after 19* 451
729. TO A. M. LEZHAVA AND M. N. POKROVSKY. *October 21* . 451
730. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *October 21* 452
731. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *October 21* 453
732. TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS. *October 21* 453
733. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *October 25* 454
734. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LEZHAVA, F. F. SYROMOLOTOV AND S. M. FRANKFURT. *October 27* 454
735. TO THE VLADIMIR GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEE. *October 27* 455
736. TO THE CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *October 27* 455
737. TO A. I. RYKOV AND I. I. RADCHENKO. *October 28* . . . 456
738. TELEGRAM TO M. V. FRUNZE. *October 28* 459
739. TO P. I. POPOV. *October 30* 459
740. TO S. I. BOTIN. *October* 460
741. INSTRUCTION ON N. A. SEMASHKO'S TELEPHONE MESSAGE. *November 2* 460
742. TO A. Z. GOLTSMAN. *November 3* 461
Notes 463
Name Index 563

V. I. LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

VOLUME

45

November 1920 – March 1923

PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
MOSCOW

CONTENTS

Preface 39

November-December 1920

1. TO S. P. SEREDA. *November 6* 47
2. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *November 6* 48
3. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *November 12* 48
4. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, P. I. POPOV, V. A. AVANESOV AND M. F. VLADIMIRSKY. *November 12* 48
5. TO M. I. KALININ. *November 12* 49
6. TO THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEATHER INDUSTRY UNDER THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *November 12* 50
7. TO THE INVENTIONS SECTION OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL. *November 13* 50
8. TO THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *November 14* . . 51
9. TO A. M. ANIKST. *November 15* 51
10. TO S. P. SEREDA AND N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *November 16* . 52
11. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *November 17* 53
12. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LYUBOVICH. *November 17* 53
13. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *November 15* 54
14. ASSIGNMENTS TO SECRETARY 54
    1. *November 19* 54
    2. *November 20* 55
15. TO A. M. ANIKST. *November 20* 55
16. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *November, not before the 20* 56
17. TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS. *November 26* 56

18. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *November 29* 56
19. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *November 29* 57
20. TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV. *November 30* 58
21. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *November 30* 59
22. TO A. M. AMOSOV. *December 12* 59
23. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *December 14* 60
24. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *December 14* 60
25. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *December 14* 61
26. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *December 14* 62
27. TELEGRAM TO THE 1ST LABOUR ARMY COUNCIL, URALS REGIONAL BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C., YEKATERINBURG GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, URALS UNIVERSITY. *December 17* 63
28. TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE. *December 18* 63
29. TO THE MANAGING DEPARTMENT OF THE C.P.C. *December 21* 64
30. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN AND N. K. KLYSHKO. *December 31* 64
31. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *December 31* 65
32. TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH. *December* 65
33. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *1920* 65
34. RE: BÉLA KUN'S PAMPHLET. *1920* 66
35. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *Late 1920-early 1921* 66

1921

36. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 2* 67
37. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *January, not before the 3rd* 67
38. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *January, not before the 4th* 68
39. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 6* 68
40. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 6* 69
41. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 12* 69
42. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY AND Y. A. LITKENS. *January 14* 70
43. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 18* 70
44. TO DVOSYA SHKLOVSKAYA. *January 18* 71
45. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 18* 72

46. TO THE *PRAVDA* EDITORIAL BOARD. *January 19* 72
47. TO THE WORKERS, ARTISANS, OFFICE WORKERS AND COMMUNIST PARTY CELL OF PROLETARSKAYA STATION, VLADIKAVKAZ RAILWAY. *January 20* 73
48. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 25* 74
49. TO A. I. RYKOV. *January 26* 75
50. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 26* 75
51. TO THE SORMOVO WORKS. *January 26* 75
52. TO V. P. MILYUTIN. *January 27* 76
53. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 27* 76
54. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 27* 77
55. TO M. N. POKROVSKY, Y. A. LITKENS AND O. Y. SCHMIDT. *January 28* 77
56. TO M. A. KRUCHINSKY. *January 31* 78
57. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 31* 79
58. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *February 1* 79
59. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *February, before the 2nd* 80
60. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *February 2* 80
61. TO A. G. GOIKHBARG. *February 2* 81
62. TO V. N. MANTSEV. *February 3* 82
63. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *February 6* 83
64. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *February 14* 83
65. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 11TH ARMY. *February 14* 84
66. TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 11TH ARMY. *February 15* 84
67. TO A. G. GOIKHBARG. *February 15* 85
68. TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *February 15* 86
69. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *February 16* 86
1 86
2 86
70. TO N. I. MURALOV. *February 18* 86
71. TO V. B. MENZHINSKY. *February 18* 87
72. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *February, not before the 21st* . . 88
73. TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV. *February 21 or 22* 88

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

74. TO COMRADES I. M. GUBKIN, A. I. TSEVCHINSKY, I. N. STRIZHOV AND N. N. SMIRNOV. *February 23* 88
75. TELEGRAM TO Kh. G. RAKOVSKY. *February 24* 89
76. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *February 28* 89
77. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *February* 90
78. TO N. OSINSKY. *March 1* 90
79. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *March 3* 92
80. TO THE NARROW C.P.C. *March 3* 92
81. TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *March 3* 93
82. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *March, not before the 4th* 93
83. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 5* 93
84. TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. M. KARAKHAN. *March 7* . . . 94
85. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *March 8* 94
86. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *March 9* 95
87. TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN. *March 9* 95
88. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March 10* 96
89. TO A. G. GOIKHBARG. *March 12* 96
90. TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *March 13* 97
91. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *March, not before the 16th* 97
92. TO WASHINGTON VANDERLIP. *March 17* 98
93. TO A. A. JOFFE. *March 17* 99
94. TO THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE. *March 18 or 19* . 101
95. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *March 19* 101
96. CERTIFICATE TO A. R. SHAPOSHNIKOV. *March 22* 101
97. TO V. N. KAYUROV. *March 24* 102
98. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 24* 103
99. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *March 25* 103
100. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March 26* 104
101. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *March 27* 104
102. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *March 27* 105
103. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *March 27* 106
104. TO A. I. RYKOV. *March 27* 107
105. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *March 28-29* 108

106. TO A. I. YEMSHANOV. *March 29* 108
107. NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 29* 109
108. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *March 30* 110
109. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. I. PETROVSKY AND M. V. FRUNZE. *March 30* 111
110. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *March 31* 111
111. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *March* 111
112. TO A. P. SEREBROVSKY. *April 2* 112
113. TO V. V. SCHMIDT, L. D. TROTSKY, A. D. TSYURUPA, A. I. RYKOV, M. P. TOMSKY, A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *April 2* 114
114. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *April 5* 115
115. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 5* 115
116. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 6* 116
117. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *April 6* 117
118. TO D. I. ULYANOV. *April 6* 117
119. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April, after the 6th* 118
120. TELEGRAM TO V. V. VOROVSKY. *April 8* 118
121. TELEGRAM TO THE YAKUTSK CONFERENCE OF THE POOR. *April 9 or 10* 119
122. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *Between April 9 and 21* 119
123. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *April 14* 120
124. TO G. L. PYATAKOV. *April 14* 121
125. TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY. *April 14* 121
126. TELEGRAM TO M. I. FRUMKIN AND A. G. BELOBORODOV. *April 15* 122
127. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *April 15* 123
128. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *April 15* 123
129. TO CLARA ZETKIN AND PAUL LEVI. *April 16* 124
130. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *April 17* 125
131. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *April 18* 125
132. NOTE TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND REMARKS ON A. M. NIKOLAYEV'S LETTER. *April 18* 126
133. TO J. V. STALIN. *April 18 or 19* 127
134. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *April 19* 127

135. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *April 19* 128
136. TO Y. YAROSLAVSKY. *April, not before the 20th* 129
137. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION. *April 22* 129
138. TO N. L. SHPEKTOROV, P. L. VOIKOV, A. Z. HOLTZMANN, L. N. KRITSMAN AND V. G. GROMAN. *April 23* 130
139. TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY, A. M. LEZHAVA AND V. P. MILYUTIN. *April 23* 131
140. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 24* 131
141. TO I. A. TEODOROVICH. *April 25* 134
142. TO J. S. HANECKI. *April 25* 134
143. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, L. N. KRITSMAN, M. P. TOMSKY AND A. I. POTYAEV. *April 26* 135
144. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *April 26* 135
145. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *April, before the 28th* 136
146. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *April 30* 137
147. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 3* 137
148. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 5* 138
149. TELEGRAM TO K. Y. VOROSHILOV. *May 5* 138
150. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *May 6* 138
151. TO M. N. POKROVSKY. *May 6* 139
152. TO I. G. ALEXANDROV. *May 6* 139
153. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *Between May 6 and 10* 140
154. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May, after the 6th* 140
155. TO L. B. KRASIN. *May 9* 141
156. TO L. B. KRASIN. *May, not later than the 10th* 141
157. TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DELEGATION. *May 10* 141
158. ASSIGNMENT TO C.P.C. SECRETARY. *May 10* 142
159. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *May 10* 142
160. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *May 11* 143
161. TO D. I. KURSKY. *May 12* 144
162. TO M. I. KALININ. *May, before the 14th* 144
163. TO Y. A. LITKENS. *May 17* 145
164. TO M. V. FRUNZE. *May 18* 145

165. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *May 19* 146
166. TELEGRAM TO A. P. SEREBROVSKY. *May 19* 147
167. TO V. P. NOGIN AND N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *May 19* 147
168. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 19* 148
169. TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM. *May 20* 149
170. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *May 23* 151
171. NOTE TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 23* 152
172. TO R. E. KLASSON. *May 24* 153
173. TO G. I. BOKII. *May 24* 153
174. ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *May 24* 154
175. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *May, not later than the 25th*. . . . 155
176. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *May 25* 155
177. TO A. B. KHALATOV. *May 26* 156
178. DIRECTIVES TO THE "ALGEMBA" COMMISSION. *May 28* . 157
179. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO K. B. RADEK AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *May 28* 158
180. TO A. O. ALSKY. *May 29* 159
181. TO Y. Kh. LUTOVINOV. *May 30* 160
182. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *May 30* 166
183. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *May 30* . . 167
184. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT, V. V. FOMIN, N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *May 31* 167
185. TO G. K. KOROLYOV. *May 31*. 168
186. TO G. D. TSYURUPA. *May 31* 168
187. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS. *May 31* 169
188. TO I. T. SMILGA. *May 31* 170
189. TO A. M. LEZHAVA AND A. I. RYKOV. *Not before May* . . 170
190. TO L. B. KRASIN *before June* 171
191. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *May—the first half of July* . . . 171
192. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *June 1* 172
193. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *June 2* 172
194. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *June 2* . . . 173
195. TO A. O. ALSKY. *June 3* 174

196. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *June, not before the 4th* 175
197. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *June 5* 176
198. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *June 5* 177
199. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *June 5* 179
200. TO R. E. KLASSON. *June 5* 180
201. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *June 6* 181
202. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *June 7* 181
203. TO P. I. STUČKA. *June 7* 182
204. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *June, after the 7th* 183
205. TO Y. M. YUROVSKY. *June 10* 184
206. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT. *June 11* 184
207. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *June 11* 185
208. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *June 12* 186
209. TO Y. LARIN. *Between June 14 and 18* 187
210. TO WILHELM KOENEN, AUGUST THALHEIMER AND PAUL FRÖHLICH. *June 16* 187
211. TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *June 16* 187
212. TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *June 18* 188
213. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *June 18* 188
214. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *June 19* 189
215. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO SOVIET TRADE DELEGATION IN LONDON. *Between June 20 and July 2* 189
216. TO A. O. ALSKY. *June, before the 21st* 189
217. TO I. A. TEODOROVICH. *June 21* 190
218. TO L. K. MARTENS. *June 22* 191
219. TO M. V. RYKUNOV. *June 22* 192
220. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS. *June 22* 192
221. TO G. I. BOKII. *June 25* 192
222. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *June 25* 193
223. TO V. D. KAISAROV AND I. I. IONOV. *June 25* 193
224. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *June 25* 194
225. ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *June 25* 195
226. TELEGRAM TO SAMARKAND COMMUNISTS. *June 27* 195

227. TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD OF THE TURKMEN REPUBLIC. *June 27* 196
228. TO L. K. MARTENS. *June 27* 196
229. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS. *June 27* 197
230. TO B. S. STOMONYAKOV. *June 30* 197
231. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *July 2* 198
232. TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *Between July 4 and 7* 201
233. TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July 5* . . 202
234. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *July 7* 202
235. TO A. I. RYKOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV. *July 7* 203
236. TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN A SITTING OF THE COMMISSION ON TACTICS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN. *July 7* 203
237. TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July 8* . . . 204
238. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July, not before the 9th* 205
239. TO I. T. SMILGA. *July 10* 205
240. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *July 10* 206
241. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, A. M. LEZHAVA AND V. A. AVANESOV. *July 11* 206
242. TO I. T. SMILGA. *July 11* 207
243. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July 11* 207
244. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *July 11* 208
1 208
2 208
245. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *July 12* 208
246. TO A. A. KOROSTELEV. *July 13* 209
247. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *July 13* 209
248. TO M. M. BORODIN. *July 13* 210
249. TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY. *Between July 13 and 19* 211
250. TO A. A. KOROSTELEV. *July 15* 211
251. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *July 15* . 211
252. ADDITION TO LETTER ON FRANCE. *July, not before the 15th* 212

253. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *July 16* 212
254. ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *July, before the 17th* . . . 213
255. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. D. TSYURUPA. *July 17* . . . 213
256. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV. *July 17*. 213
257. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ROGOZHSKO-SIMONOVSKY SOVIET OF DEPUTIES. *July 17* 214
258. TELEGRAM TO THE SIMBIRSK UYEZD CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. *July 18 or 19* 214
259. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO M. I. KALININ AND L. B. KAMENEV. *July 19* 215
260. ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY AND NOTE TO L. G. LEVIN. *July 19*. 216
261. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO B. S. STOMONYAKOV. *July 20* . 216
262. TO THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY. *July 20*. 217
263. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *July 20* 217
264. TO RICHARD MÜLLER AND HEINRICH MALZAHN. *July 20* . 218
265. TO I. S. LOBACHEV AND A. I. RYKOV. *July 20* 219
266. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *July 20* 219
267. TO Y. M. STEKLOV, MARIA ULYANOVA, V. A. KARPINSKY, G. I. KRUMIN. *July 21* 220
268. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. I. RYKOV. *July 22* 221
269. TO V. M. BAZHANOV AND S. A. GETSOV. *July 22* 222
270. TO M. A. KRUCHINSKY. *July 23* 222
271. MARKINGS ON A TELEGRAM FROM INZA AND A NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, V. A. AVANESOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV. *July 24* 223
272. TO A. I. POTYAEV AND V. A. AVANESOV. *July 24* 223
273. TO A. I. POTYAEV. *July 24* 224
274. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *July 24*. 225
275. TO I. P. BABKIN. *July 24* 225
276. TO A. I. RYKOV. *July 24* 226
277. TO N. OSINSKY. *July, after the 24th* 226
278. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. L. MESHCHERYAKOV. *July 25* 227
279. TELEGRAM TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV. *July 25* 227

280. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET. *July 25* 228

281. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July 25* 229

282. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KRASIN. *July 25* 229

283. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *July 25* 230

284. TO M. M. BORODIN. *July 26* 230

285. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD. *July 28* 231

286. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *July 28* 231

287. TO L. B. KRASIN. *July 28* 233

288. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *July 29* 233

289. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *July, not before the 29th* 234

290. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *July 30* 234

291. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. N. VASHKOV. *August 1* . . . 235

292. TO G. I. MYASNIKOV. *August 1* 236

293. TO L. K. MARTENS. *August 2* 236

294. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO DEPUTY HEAD OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD. *August 2* 237

295. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *August 3* 238

296. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *August 4* 238

297. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *August 4* 240

298. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 4* . 240

299. RADIO MESSAGE TO ALL GUBERNIA AND UYEZD ECONOMIC CONFERENCES. *August, not before the 4th* 241

300. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KRASIN. *August 5* . . . 242

301. TO A. I. POTYAEV. *August 5* 242

302. TELEGRAM TO N. M. KNIPOVICH. *August 5* 243

303. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *August 5* 243

304. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND C.L.D. MEMBERS. *August 5* . 244

305. DIRECT-LINE TALK WITH M. K. VLADIMIROV. *August 6* . . 245

306. TO M. P. TOMSKY. *August 7* 246

307. TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS 247
1. *Between August 8 and 11* 247
2. *August 11* 247
3. *August 19* 248
308. TO G. I. BOKII. *August 9* 248
309. TO MAXIM GORKY. *August 9* 249
310. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 11* 250
311. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 11* 251
312. TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *August 11* 251
313. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *August 11* . . 252
314. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *August 11* 253
315. TELEGRAM TO THE PERM GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.). *August 12* 253
316. TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. B. KAMENEV. *August 13* . . 253
317. TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN. *August 13* 254
318. TO A. S. KISELYOV. *August 13* 255
319. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *August 14* 255
320. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *August 16* 256
321. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF *IZVESTIA*, *PRAVDA* AND TO V. N. IPATIEV. *August 17* 256
322. TO M. I. FRUMKIN, V. A. AVANESOV AND J. V. STALIN. *August 17*. 257
323. TELEGRAM TO P. L. LAPINSKY. *August 17* 258
324. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO SECRETARY. *August 17* 258
325. TELEGRAM TO M . K. VLADIMIROV. *August 17* 258
326. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *August 17* 259
327. TELEGRAM TO GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES FOR THEIR ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENTS. *August 18* . . . 259
328. TO P. I. POPOV. *August 20* 260
329. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *August 22* 261
330. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *August 22* 261
331. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *August 22* . . 262
332. LETTER TO I. T. SMILGA AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *August 22* 263

333. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *August 23* 265

334. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 23* 266

335. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 23* 266

336. NOTE ON N. N. YAKOVLEV'S LETTER AND MEMO TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *August 23* 267

337. NOTE TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND LETTER TO MATYAS RAKOSI, K. B. RADEK, I. S. UNSCHLICHT AND B. I. REINSTEIN. *August 23* 267

338. TO J. V. STALIN AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 26* 268

339. TO BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA. *August 26* 270

340. TO THE NARROW C.P.C. *August 27* 270

341. TO THE NARROW C.P.C. *August 27* 271

342. TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 29* . . 272

343. TELEGRAM TO V. N. KAYUROV. *August 30* 272

344. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 30* 273

345. TO R. E. KLASSON. *August 31* 273

346. TO V. V. ADORATSKY. *August 31* 274

347. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *August 31* 274

348. NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *September 1* 275

349. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 1* 275

350. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 1* 276

351. NOTE TO A. S. YENUKIDZE AND LETTER TO PERSIAN ARTISANS. *September 1* 276

352. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *September 1* 277

353. MARKINGS ON G. O. GRAFTIO'S LETTER AND ASSIGNMENTS TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 2* 277

354. REMARKS ON N. N. KRESTINSKY'S REPORT AND ASSIGNMENTS TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 2* 278

355. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September, not later than the 2nd* 280

356. NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND TELEGRAM TO Kh. G. PESTUN. *September 3* 280

357. NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND LETTER TO N. M. KNIPOVICH. *September 3* 281
358. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 3* 282
359. NOTE TO SECRETARY. *September 3* 282
360. TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 3* 283
361. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 3* 283
362. TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *September 3* 284
363. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *September 4* 284
364. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 4* 285
365. NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *September 4* 286
366. TELEGRAM TO THE SIBERIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. *September 4* 287
367. TO N. I. SOLOVYOV, HEAD OF THE STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT, C.C. *September 5* 287
368. TO A. O. ALSKY. *September 5* 288
369. TO Y. I. VISHNYAK. *September 5* 289
370. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *September 5* 289
371. TO A. O. ALSKY. *September 7* 290
372. TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV. *September 7* 291
373. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 8* 291
374. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM. *September 8* 292
375. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 9* 293
376. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 11* 293
377. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 11* 294
378. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 11* 294
379. TELEGRAM TO ALL REGIONAL AND GUBERNIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCES. *September 12* 294
380. TO THE ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE S.E.C. *September 12* 295
381. TO S. S. DANILOV. *September 12* 296
382. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *September 12* 296
383. TO A. A. JOFFE. *September 13* 297

384. TO E. M. SKLYANSKY. *September 13* 298
385. TO N. A. SEMASHKO. *September 13* 298
386. TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE C.P.C. OFFICE. *September 13* 299
387. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 13* 300
388. TO N. OSINSKY. *September 14* 300
389. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *September, second half* 301
390. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 17* 302
391. TO Kh. G. RAKOVSKY. *September 19* 302
392. TO THE KIRSANOV UYEZD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. *September 19* 303
393. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *September 19* 303
394. TO Y. Z. VOLKOV. *September 19* 304
395. TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV. *September 19* 304
396. TO I. I. MIROSHNIKOV. *September 19* 306
397. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 20* 306
398. TO V. V. ADORATSKY. *September 20* 307
399. TO THE ORGANISATIONAL BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *September 22* 308
400. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *September 23* 308
401. TO D. B. RYAZANOV. *September 23* 309
402. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL BERLIN COMMISSION FOR THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN ORDERS FOR GIDROTORF. *September 24* 309
403. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 24* 310
404. TELEGRAM TO N. N. NARIMANOV. *September 26* 310
405. TO K. B. RADEK. *September 26* 311
406. DRAFT TELEGRAM ON ORGANISING A THREE-WEEK FIREWOOD DRIVE, AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *September 27* 311
407. TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *September 28* 313
408. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 29* 313
409. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 29* 314
410. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 29* 315
411. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *September 30* 316
412. ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND LETTER TO

K. Kh. DANISHEVSKY, V. M. MOLOTOV AND A. S. KISELYOV. *September 30* 316
413. TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM. *September 30* 317
414. TO THE FOREIGN LITERATURE COMMITTEE. *September 30* 318
415. TO P. A. KRASIKOV. *September 30* 319
416. ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND LETTER TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV. *September 30* 320
417. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *End of September* 321
418. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *September* 321
419. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *October 2* 322
420. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *October 3* 322
421. INQUIRY ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF THE SOWING CAMPAIGN. *October 4* 322
422. TO A. S. KISELYOV. *October 5* 324
423. INSTRUCTIONS ON A LETTER FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE ACADEMIC CENTRE. *October 5*. 324
424. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS. *October 6 or 7* 325
425. BUGUN FISHERMEN'S AND WORKERS' SOVIET OF THE NORTHERN COAST, ARAL SEA. *October 7* 325
426. TO P. A. KRASIKOV. *October 8* 327
427. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *October 8 or 9* 328
428. TELEGRAM TO A. I. POTYAEV AND NOTE TO SECRETARY. *October 9*. 328
429. TELEGRAM TO ALL GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES, GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEES, GUBERNIA TRADE UNION COUNCILS, GUBERNIA LABOUR COMMITTEES. *October 10* 328
430. TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R. *October 10* 329
431. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 10* 330
432. TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 11* 331
433. NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 11* 332
434. TO M. L. RUKHIMOVICH. *October 11*. 332
435. TO M. L. RUKHIMOVICH. *October 12*. 334

436. TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV. *October 12* 334
437. TELEGRAM TO ALL TIMBER COMMITTEES AND GUBERNIA CHEKA. *October 13* 335
438. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *October 13* 336
439. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 14* . . 337
440. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *October, not before the 14th* . . . 338
441. TO L. K. MARTENS. *October 15* 338
442. TO N. A. UGLANOV. *October 15* 339
443. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *October 16* 339
444. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *October 17* 340
445. TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *October 17* 341
446. TO P. I. POPOV. *October 17* 342
447. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *October 17* 343
448. PROPOSAL TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. AND NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV. *October 18* 344
449. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 18* 345
450. TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM. *October 19* 345
451. TO L. K. MARTENS. *October 19* 346
452. LETTER TO I. I. RADCHENKO AND NOTE TO F. V. LENGNIK. *October 19* 347
453. TO THE MOSCOW REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL. *October 20* 348
454. TO J. V. STALIN. *October 20* 348
455. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *October 21* 349
456. TO V. Y. CHUBAR AND Kh. G. RAKOVSKY. *October 21* . . 349
457. TO A. O. ALSKY. *October 21* 350
458. TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 21* 350
459. TO A. A. NOVITSKY. *October, before the 22nd* 351
460. TO A. A. NOVITSKY. *October 22* 352
461. TO L. S. SOSNOVSKY. *October 22* 352
462. TELEGRAM TO ALL REGIONAL AND GUBERNIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCES. *October 22* 353
463. TO D. I. KURSKY. *October 22* 353
464. MARKINGS ON A MEMO FROM AND LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *October 22* 354
465. TO J. V. STALIN. *Between October 22 and 31* 355

466. NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND REMARKS ON A DRAFT SOVIET GOVERNMENT DECLARATION ON DEBT RECOGNITION. *October 24* 356

467. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *October 24* 359

468. TO J. V. STALIN. *October 25* 359

469. DESIRABLE LITERATURE (PUBLICATIONS FROM GERMANY). *October 25* 360

470. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *October 26* 361

471. TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 26* 361

472. TO V. A. TRIFONOV. *October 26* 361

473. TO L. K. MARTENS. *October 27* 362

474. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *October 27* 362

475. NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *October 28* 363

476. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *October 28* 364

477. TO M. V. RYKUNOV. *October 28* 365

478. ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY AND TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *October 31* 365

479. TO G. D. TSYURUPA. *November 2* 366

480. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *November, before the 3rd* 366
1 366
2 367
3 367

481. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NARROW C.P.C. *November 3* . 367

482. TO ARMAND HAMMER. *November 3* 368

483. TO D. I. KURSKY. *November 4* 368

484. TO A. O. ALSKY. *November 5* 369

485. TO P. A. BOGDANOV. *November 5* 370

486. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *November 5* 370

487. NOTE TO P. P. GORBUNOV AND TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *November 7* 371

488. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *November 7* 371

489. TO CENTRAL PRESS DISTRIBUTION AGENCY, PUBLISHING DEPARTMENTS OF THE S.E.C., PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD. *November 8* 372

490. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *November 9* 372
491. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *November 9* 372
492. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *November 10* 373
493. TO I. I. RADCHENKO. *November 10* 373
494. TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *November 10* 374
495. TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS. *November 10* 374
496. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *November 12* 375
497. TELEGRAM TO ALL ECONOMIC CONFERENCES. *November 12* 375
498. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *November 14* 376
499. ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE JUDICIAL AND INVESTIGATION ORGANS. NOTES TO V. M. MOLOTOV. 376
1. *November 14* 376
2. *November 19* 376
500. TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY. *November 15* 377
501. TO V. I. SAMARIN. *November 15* 378
502. TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *November 15*. 378
503. TO L. K. MARTENS. *November 17* 378
504. REFERENCE TO N. A. YEMELYANOV. *November 19* . . . 379
505. TO D. I. KURSKY. *November 19* 380
506. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *November 19* 380
507. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *November 19* 381
508. TO J. V. STALIN. *November 20* 381
509. TO V. M. MOLOTOV, Kh. G. RAKOVSKY, I. I. SCHWARZ, G. L. PYATAKOV, M. L. RUKHIMOVICH. *November 21* . . 381
510. REFERENCE TO J. S. HANECKI. *November 21* 382
511. RESOLUTION ON LETTER FROM THE MOSCOW PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION TO MOSTEXTIL. *November 21.* . 383
512. TO S. S. PILYAVSKY. *November 22* 383
513. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *November 22* 383
514. J. V. STALIN AND I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *November 22* . . . 384
515. TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.P.C. *November 23* 384
516. TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION. *November 23* . . 385

517. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *November 23* 386
518. TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE KREMLIN. *November 26* . . 387
519. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. 387
1. *November 26* 387
2. *November 26* 388
520. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *November 27* 388
521. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NARROW C.P.C. *November 28* 389
522. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *November 29* 389
523. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *November 30* 390
524. TO A. D. METELEV. *November 30* 390
525. TO A. A. BELOV. *November 30* 391
526. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 30* 391
527. LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 2* 392
528. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE. *December 2* 393
529. TO THE FOREIGN LITERATURE COMMITTEE. *December 2* . 393
530. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 2* 394
531. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *December 2* 394
532. LETTER ON THE USE OF "PERSONAL CONTACTS". *December 3* 395
533. TO A. I. RYKOV. *December 3* 396
534. TO THE MOSCOW GUBERNIA COMMISSION FOR CHECKING AND PURGING THE PARTY. *December 3* 397
535. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *December 5* 400
536. LETTER TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FINANCE, THE S.E.C. AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION. *December 5* 401
537. TO COMRADES BALLISTER AND CARR. *December 5* 402
538. TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 5* 402
539. TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 5* 403
540. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *December 6* 403
541. TELEGRAM TO M. Kh. POLYAKOV. *December 6* 404

542. TO MAXIM GORKY. *December 6* 404
543. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *December 7* 405
544. TO I. I. MEZHLAUK. *December 9* 405
545. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 12* 405
546. TO N. OSINSKY. *Between December 14 and 18* 406
547. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *Between December 14 and 18* . . . 407
548. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 16* 407
549. TO Y. A. LITKENS. *December 16* 408
550. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *December 17* 408
551. TO J. V. STALIN. *December 17* 409
552. INQUIRIES SENT TO PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS OVER THE PREPARATION OF A REPORT BY THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. AND THE C.P.C. AT THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS. *December 17* 409
553. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *December 17* 412
554. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 17* 413
555. TO P. A. ZALUTSKY AND A. A. SOLTS. *December 20* . . . 413
556. TO P. A. ZALUTSKY AND A. A. SOLTS. *December 20* . . . 414
557. TO THE *IZVESTIA VTsIK* EDITORIAL BOARD. *December 21* 415
558. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *December 21* 416
559. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 22* 417
560. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *December 22* 417
561. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *December 24* 418
562. TO G. I. SAFAROV. *December 24* 418
563. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 24* 419
564. TO Y. M. YAROSLAVSKY. *December 24* 419
565. L. D. TROTSKY. *December 26* 420
566. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *December 26* 420
567. EXCHANGE OF MEMOS WITH Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *December 26* 421
568. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *December 27* 422

569. TO BÉLA KUN. *December 29* 422
570. TO THE HEADS OF CENTRAL SOVIET ESTABLISHMENTS. *December* 423
571. TO P. A. ZALUTSKY. *December* 424
572. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *1921* 424

1922

573. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *January 1* 425
574. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 3* 426
575. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *January 3* 426
576. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 4* 427
577. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *January 4* 427
578. TO M. M. LITVINOV. *January 9* 428
579. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 12* 428
580. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE ORGBUREAU AND THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 12* 429
581. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN. *January 12* 430
582. TO A. S. YENUKIDZE. *January 13* 431
583. TO P. S. OSADCHY. *January 13* 431
584. TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT AND V. V. FOMIN. *January 16* . . . 432
585. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 16* 433
586. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 16* 434
587. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *January 17* 435
588. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *January 17* 436
589. LETTERS TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON THE STEINBERG CONCESSION. 436
1. *January 17* 436
2. *January 23* 437
590. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *January 17* 438
591. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT. *January 17* 439

592. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *January 18* 440
593. TO J. V. STALIN. *January 19* 440
594. TO L. B. KRASIN. *January 19* 441
595. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *January 20* 442
596. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *January 21* 442
597. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *January 21* 443
598. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *January 22* 444
599. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 22* 446
600. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *January 23* 448
601. TO A. M. LEZHAVA, P. A. BOGDANOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 23* 448
602. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. 449
1. *January 23* 449
2. *January 24* 450
603. TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN. *January 25* . . . 450
604. TO A. M. LEZHAVA. *January 26* 451
605. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *January 26* 451
606. TO I. T. SMILGA. *January 26* 452
607. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *January 26* 452
608. TO MARIA GLYASSER. *January 26* 453
609. NOTE TO A SECRETARY WITH ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *January 26* 453
610. FROM A LETTER TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *Between January 26 and 31* 454
611. TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO Y. Y. LOMONOSOV. *January 27* 454
612. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 28* 455
613. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *January 29* 455
614. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *January 30* 456
615. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *January 31* 457
616. TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT. *January 31* 457

617. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 2*. 458

618. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. 459

1. *February 2* 459
2. *February 3* 460

619. TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV. *February 4* 460

620. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 6* 461

621. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *February 6* 461

622. ON DISTRICTING THE UKRAINE. *February, after the 6th* . 462

623. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN ON THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. DIRECTIVES FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE. *February 7* 463

624. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 10* 464

625. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *February 11*. 465

626. TO A. S. YENUKIDZE. *February 13* 466

627. LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV ABOUT THE WORK OF THE STATISTICAL, AND REGISTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION DEPARTMENTS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 14*. . . 467

628. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 14*. 468

629. TO D. I. KURSKY. *February 14* 469

630. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *February 15* 469

631. LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 15* 470

632. ON REORGANISING THE WORK OF THE C.P.C., THE C.L.D. AND THE NARROW C.P.C. *February 15* 471

633. TO V. G. YAKOVENKO. *February 15* 472

634. TO D. I. KURSKY. *February 15* 473

635. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 15* 473

636. TO I. I. MIROSHNIKOV. *February 15* 474

637. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARIES. *February 16* 474

638. TO Y. A. LITKENS. *February 16* 475

639. LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON CREDITS TO THE SHATILOV OATS TRUST. *February 17* 476

640. TO COMRADE N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 17*. 476

641. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. 477
1. *February 18* 477
2. *February 20* 478
642. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 20* 479
643. TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN. *February 21* . . . 479
644. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 21*. 480
645. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY *February 22* 482
646. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE C.C. OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF RUSSIA. *February 23* 483
647. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 24* 483
648. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *February, before the 25th* 483
649. MEMOS TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV WITH PROPOSALS FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 25*. 484
1 484
2 485
650. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *February 25* 485
651. TO THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY. *February 27* 486
652. NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 27* 486
653. TO A. D. TSYURUPA. *February 27* 487
1 487
2 489
654. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 28* 490
655. TO NOTE TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 28* 490
656. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 28* 491
657. TO MEMO D. I. KURSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *February 28* 491
658. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *February 28* 492
659. REMARKS ON A DRAFT ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. DECISION ON THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION AND LETTER TO J. V. STALIN. *Between February 28 and March 16* 493

660. TO THE COMRADES WORKING AT GIDROTORF. *March 2* . . 494
661. LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. WITH REMARKS ON THE THESES OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FINANCE. *March 3* 495
662. LETTER TO L. B. KAMENEV. *March 3* 496
663. LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *March 3* 499
664. MEMO TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *March 5* 500
665. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *March 5* 500
666. TO G. L. PYATAKOV. *March 5* 501
667. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *March 6* 501
668. TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV. *March 6* 502
669. TO L. M. KHINCHUK. *March 7* 503
670. TO Y. S. VARGA. *March 8* 504
671. TO L. B. KRASIN. *March 10* 505
672. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONCESSIONS COMMITTEE UNDER THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION. *March 11* . . 506
673. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *March 14* 506
674. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *March 15* 512
675. TELEGRAM TO THE TERRITORIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH-EAST. *March 19* 513
676. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *March 20* 514
677. TO L. B. KRASIN. *March 20* 514
678. TO M. I. FRUMKIN AND I. I. RADCHENKO. *March 21* . . . 515
679. TO M. I. FRUMKIN. *March 21* 516
680. LETTER TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV. *March 21* 516
681. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *March 23* 517
682. TELEGRAM TO Y. V. LOMONOSOV. *March 27* 518
683. TELEGRAM TO N. N. KRESTINSKY. *March 29* 518
684. TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *March 30* 519
685. TO N. P. GORBUNOV. *March 31*. 520
686. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 4* 520
687. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 4* 521

688. TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV. *April 4* 521
689. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 5* 522
690. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 5* 523
691. TO A. I. RYKOV. *April 5* 523
692. TO G. I. KRUMIN, G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY, P. I. POPOV AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *April 10* 524
693. TO Y. S. VARGA. *April 10* 525
694. TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV. *April 10* 526
695. TO THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION. *April 10* 526
696. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY. *April 10* 526
697. TO V. V. ADORATSKY. *April 10* 527
698. NOTE TO L. B. KAMENEV AND REMARKS ON V. V. ADORATSKY'S LETTER. *April 10* 528
699. TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *April 12* 529
700. TO P. M. KERZHENTSEV. *April 13* 530
701. TO BÉLA KUN. *April 13* 530
702. NOTE TO J. V. STALIN, L. B. KAMENEV AND L. D. TROTSKY. *April 18* 530
703. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *April 18* 531
704. NOTE TO J. V. STALIN, L. B. KAMENEV AND L. D. TROTSKY WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO GENOA. *April 19* . . 532
705. NOTE TO J. V. STALIN WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *April 21* 532
706. LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C POLITBUREAU WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *April 24* 533
707. TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *April 26* 534
708. TO THE C.C. SECRETARIAT. *April 27* 535
709. PROPOSAL FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *April 28* 536
710. TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *April 29* . . 536
711. TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *April 30* 536
712. NOTES TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 2* . . 537
713. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *May 2* 538
714. TO A. D. TSYURUPA AND A. I. RYKOV. *May 2* 538

715. LETTER TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV ON QUESTIONS OF FINANCIAL POLICY. *May 2* 539
716. TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY. *May, before the 3rd* 540
717. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 5 or 6* . . . 540
718. TO J. V. STALIN. *May 6* 540
719. TELEGRAM TO M. M. LITVINOV. *May 8* 541
720. TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 9* 541
721. CONCERNING THE DRAFT LIST OF NARROW C.P.C. MEMBERSHIP. *May 10* 542
722. TO ARMAND HAMMER. *May 11* 542
723. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 11* . . 543
724. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. 543
1. *May 11* 543
2. *May 11* 544
725. TO V. S. DOVGALEVSKY. *May 11* 545
726. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 13* 546
727. TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN, G. V. CHICHERIN AND V. V. VOROVSKY. *May 13* 546
728. TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *May 14* 547
729. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 15* 547
730. LETTER TO J. V. STALIN AND M. I. FRUMKIN AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *May 15* 549
731. TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA. *May 15* 550
732. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 15*. 550
733. TO A. I. RYKOV. *May 16* 551
734. TO N. OSINSKY. *May 16*. 551
735. LETTER TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *May 17*. 552
736. LETTER TO A. I. RYKOV AND REMARKS ON HIS TELEPHONE MESSAGE. *May 18* 552
737. TO V. A. PAVLOV. *May 18*. 554
738. TO J. V. STALIN. *May 18* 554
739. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *May 19* 555
740. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY. *May 19* 556
741. TO J. V. STALIN. *May 19* 556
742. TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT. *May 21* 557

743. TO THE HEADS OF ALL CENTRAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS. *May 21* 557
744. TO J. V. STALIN. *May 22* 559
745. TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. POLITBUREAU. *May 24 and 27* 559
746. TO LYDIA FOTIEVA. *July 13* 560
747. TO J. V. STALIN. *July 18* 560
748. TO M. K. VLADIMIROV. *August 21* 561
749. TO A. I. RYKOV. *Between August 25 and September 1* . . 561
750. LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. OVER LESLIE URQUHART'S CONCESSION. *September 4* 562
751. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September, not later than the 7th* 563
752. TO N. I. BUKHARIN. *September 7* 564
753. TO M. P. TOMSKY. *September 9* 564
754. TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON REJECTING THE AGREEMENT WITH LESLIE URQUHART. *September 12* 565
755. TO J. V. STALIN. *September 13* 566
756. TO A. I. RYKOV. *September 17* 566
757. TO M. K. VLADIMIROV. *September 17* 567
758. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *September 18* 567
759. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 19* 568
760. TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV. *September 23* 568
761. TO MARIA GLYASSER 569
1. *September 23* 569
2. *September, later than the 23rd* 570
762. TO G. L. PYATAKOV. *September 25* 570
763. TO N. V. KRYLENKO. *September 25* 571
764. TO A. I. RYKOV. *September 25* 571
765. TELEGRAM TO V. Y. CHUBAR. *September 28* 572
766. TO L. B. KRASIN. *October 4* 573
767. TO L. B. KAMENEV. 573
1. *October 4* 573
2. *October 6* 574
3. *October 6* 574

768. LETTER TO G. L. PYATAKOV ON LESLIE URQUHART'S CONCESSION. *October 6* 574
769. TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEWSPAPER *PUT MOLODYOZHI*. *October 6*. 576
770. TO B. G. ZAKS. *October, before the 10th* 576
771. TO B. G. ZAKS. *October 16* 577
772. TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE. *October 16* 577
773. TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE. *October 16* 577
774. TO L. B. KAMENEV AND N. R. GORBUNOV. *October 17* . 578
775. TO LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON AN AGREEMENT WITH A CONSORTIUM OF GERMAN FIRMS. *October 18* 578
776. TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PERM GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *October 20* 581
777. TELEGRAM TO K. M. TSINTSADZE AND S. I. KAVTARADZE. *October 21*. 582
778. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. *October 24* 582
779. TO L. S. SOSNOVSKY. *October 25* 583
780. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND G. L. PYATAKOV. *October 26* 584
781. TO V. N. MAXIMOVSKY. *October 27* 585
782. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *After October 27 and 30* 585
783. TO V. M. MOLOTOV. *October 28* 586
784. TO G. L. PYATAKOV AND M. I. FRUMKIN. *October 30* . . 586
785. TO L. B. KAMENEV. *October 30* 587
786. TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *October 30* 588
787. LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON A NOTE TO THE ENTENTE POWERS CONCERNING THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE. *October 31* 588
788. TO K. B. RADEK. *Not later than October* 589
789. TO THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE. *November 4* 589
790. TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV. *November 6* 590
791. TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY. *November 6* 591
792. TO THE G.P.U. *November 6* 591

793. TO G. V. CHICHERIN. *November, not before the 8th* . . . 592
794. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *November 25* 593
795. TO L. D. TROTSKY, G. Y. ZINOVIEV, N. I. BUKHARIN AND K. B. RADEK. *November 25* 593
796. TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. *November 29* 594
797. ON N. M. KNIPOVICH'S NOTE. *December 3* 595
798. TO I. I. KHODOROVSKY. *December 4* 595
799. TO A. I. SVIDERSKY. *December 5* 596
800. TO CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ. *December 7* 597
801. TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV. *December 7 or 8* 598
802. TO J. V. STALIN. *December 8* 598
803. LETTER TO CONSTANTINO LAZZARI AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY. *December 11* 600
804. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 12* 601
805. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 13* 601
806. TO V. A. AVANESOV. *December 14* 602
807. LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. *December 15* 602
808. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 15* 604
809. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 15* 604
810. TO DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND C.L.D. *December 16* 605
811. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *December 21* 606

1923

812. TO L. D. TROTSKY. *March 5* 607
813. TO COMRADE STALIN. *March 5* 607
814. TO P. G. MDIVANI, F. Y. MAKHARADZE AND OTHERS. *March 6* 608
Notes 609
Name Index 759